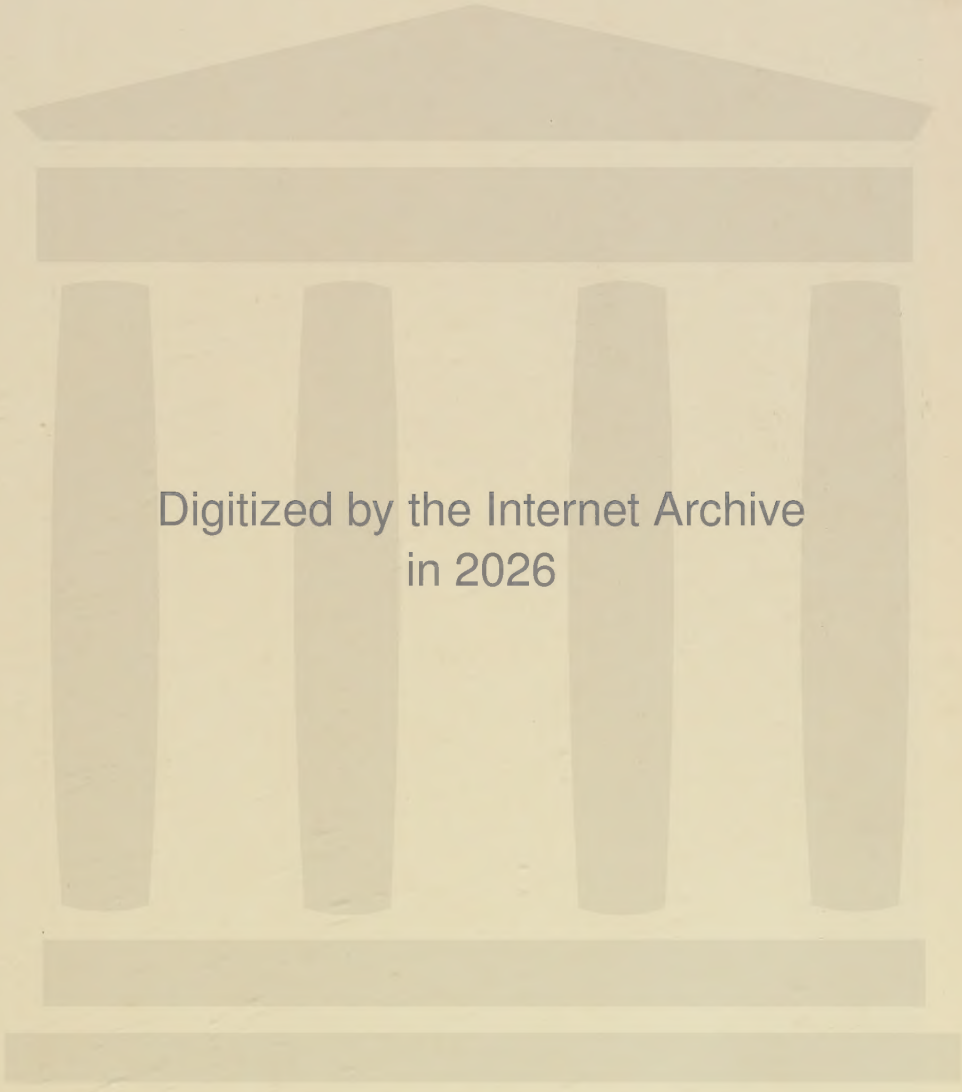

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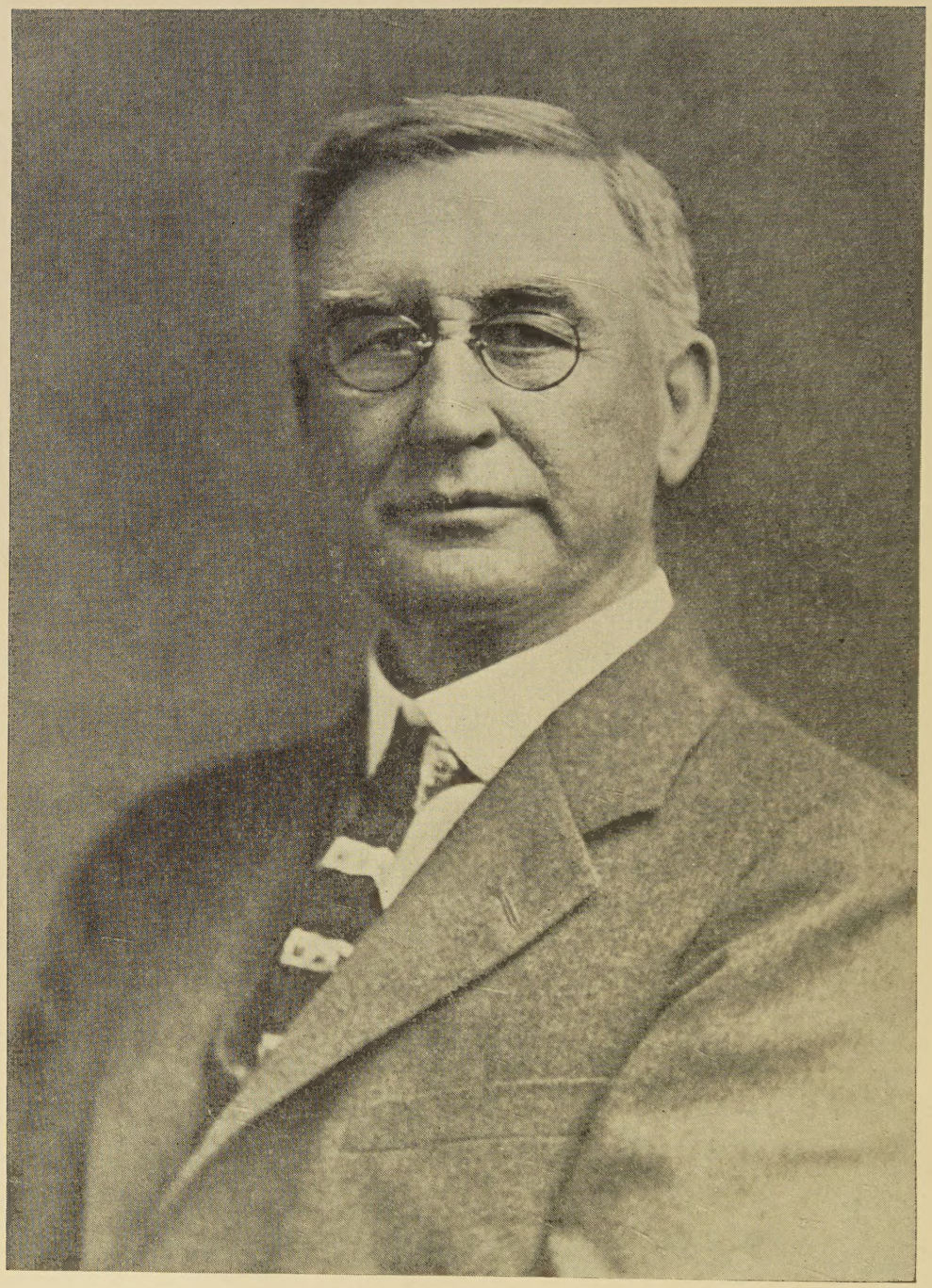

Geo. V. Smith

HISTORY

OF

ILLINOIS

AND

HER PEOPLE

BY

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Assisted by an Advisory Board

IN SIX VOLUMES

ILLUSTRATED

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FOREWORD

From the years when the Congress of the United States enacted and reenacted the Ordinance of 1787 to the present time, faithful men and women have been recording the life of the people of the Northwest Territory. Illinois was a part of that Northwest Territory. It was in our beloved State that the French first planted their social, industrial, and political institutions. Old Kaskaskia near Chester, in Randolph County, was settled as early as 1699 or 1700 and was the oldest French settlement in the Mississippi Valley.

The Northwest Territory, from the above early date to the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, was wholly under the control of the French. The history of Illinois for that period has recently become available to the general public, and it will be found intensely interesting and instructive. The old French life lingered on the old towns of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes till well into the nineteenth century.

The return to Illinois of the brave men who marched and camped and fought with General George Rogers Clark in the conquest of the Illinois Country, brought an English speaking people into Indiana and Illinois as permanent settlers. By the early part of the nineteenth century the language, customs, and laws had become English; and from records, letters, newspapers, and the writings of travelers we can gather a very accurate description of the life of these pioneer people.

Following the Civil War some good histories were written. Enterprising publishing companies put out county atlases and county histories of many counties. These county histories gathered a great body of local history and traditions from the men and women who had participated in the life of the people since the state was admitted into the Union.

In January, 1916, the General Assembly of the State of Illinois created the "Illinois Centennial Commission" whose duty should be to provide for and carry out a "celebration in honor of the Centennial of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Federal Union." In addition the Commission was authorized to "compile and publish a commemorative history of the State."

This history consists of six volumes edited by Professor Evarts Boutell Greene of the University of Illinois who was also a member of the Commission. The State was liberal in its appropriation for the celebration and for the history, but the num-

ber of copies of the history was limited and the work is found in only the larger libraries and in a few private collections.

These several sources of the history of Illinois have been freely drawn upon in the preparation of these volumes. A few years ago the author gave considerable time to research work in the field of history in the south third of the State. This region known as Southern Illinois or Egypt is exceedingly rich in the history of the pioneer life of the State. The material thus gathered has been supplemented by similar work in recent years in other parts of the State, and it is confidently believed that the work now presented will be found a most complete presentation of the glorious achievements of our beloved commonwealth.

Volumes IV, V, and VI will be found of inestimable value to the present readers and to the future historian. In these volumes are to be found the biographies of the men and women whose forebears have borne the burden and the heat of the day. Many of them came with the first English speaking settlers. Here the reader will surely be convinced that our Illinois has been a veritable melting pot for the molding of a high type of American citizenship.

Here will be found the names of men and women descended from the Puritans of New England, the Cavaliers of old Virginia, the Dutch of New York, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, or the Huguenots from the foot hills along the eastern Alleghanies. There will also be found in these volumes the names of hundreds of people who are proud to trace their descent more directly from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, Greece, Holland, Belgium, the Balkans, and even from far-away Russia. It was these earlier and later migrants who have carried on and whose descendants will continue to carry on in the great days ahead of us.

THE HISTORY OF ILLINOIS AND HER PEOPLE is now presented to an intelligent and appreciative constituency with the hope that it may help its readers to a higher appreciation of the character and the worth of the noble men and women who conquered this western wilderness and planted here and cherished those institutions which minister to the highest type of civilization the world has ever known.

GEO. W. SMITH.

Carbondale, Illinois,
November 13, 1926.

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From the Earliest Days to the Completion of Admission to the Union

History of Illinois

CHAPTER I

GEOLOGY OF ILLINOIS

GEOLOGIC PROCESSES — LAPLACIAN HYPOTHESIS — PLANETESIMAL HYPOTHESIS—STAGES OF GROWTH—FORMATION OF SEAS AND OCEANS—THE GEOLOGIC ERAS—GEOLOGIC TIME DIVISIONS — GEOLOGY OF ILLINOIS — PALEOZOIC ERA — SILURIAN SYSTEM — DEVONIAN — MISSISSIPPIAN — PENNSYLVANIAN—GLACIAL PERIOD—HUMAN PERIOD—OUR SOIL.

Geology, as a science, assumes the task of telling the story of the origin, growth, and present condition of the earth. A portion of this task is relatively easy. The last stages of the growth, as well as the present status of the outer parts of the earth, constitute an open book to the geologist. The rock layers of the earth's crust, together with the processes by which they were formed, constitute a book to be read even by the unskilled observer. The processes which through many hundreds, may be thousands, of years have given us the familiar forms which we may observe on the sea shore, in the mountains, in the quarries, on the plains, or in the river valleys, may be seen at work by any one interested in the great world in which he lives.

GEOLOGIC PROCESSES

These processes with which the general reader may familiarize himself have been designated by the geologist as Diastrophism, Vulcanism, and Gradation. Diastrophism designates all those movements of the earth's crust which have caused the crust either to settle or to rise. It has been observed that many rock layers which we know were formed at the bottom of the sea are now hundreds of feet above the sea level. On the other hand there are large areas which were formed at the bottom

of the sea that were later raised above the sea but are now sinking below the level of the ocean.

Vulcanism deals with all movements of lava or volcanic material. This process and the first named are closely related as many risings and sinkings of the crust of the earth are due to volcanic action.

Gradation is the subject which explains all changes of the earth's crust which tend to lower the mountains or to fill up the valleys. Rivers are continually carrying great loads of detritus from the mountain side into the ocean and our inland seas. Great quantities of surface materials are transported from one place to another by the action of glaciers and winds. The mountains shall be lowered and the valleys shall be filled.

But our geologists have not been able to answer all the questions which have arisen about the earth's history. From the surface men have descended into the deep interior of the earth and thus have been able to make certain valuable observations concerning rock layers, their relative positions, changes in temperature, and life-remains, all of which have been very valuable toward an understanding of the different stages of the earth's growth toward its present state. Besides the great processes above named have brought parts of the earth from many thousands of feet below the surface to our view, through great upheavals, and this has enabled the geologists to study the structure of the earth at great depths.

But there are depths beyond which we know nothing from observation. The great border land between what we know very well and that of which we know nothing, forces us into explanations and descriptions that are not altogether satisfactory. But out of it all we know that there have been two great periods in the formation of the earth as it is today. In the first one of these periods there appears to have been little or no systematic arrangement of the earth materials. At the end of this period the earth was made up of a great mass of heated, maybe molten materials. This great mass of heated material contained probably all the earth matter that we find in the earth today except that there may have been vast quantities of matter added which was produced from certain forms of gases and vapors which the heated earth was holding in surrounding space, too light in weight to be drawn to the earth through gravity because of the repulsive force of the heated mass.

The second period began with the return to the heated surface of the earth of certain watery vapors which, when the crust of the earth had sufficiently cooled, settled in the low places of the uneven rock surface. Thus began to be formed what afterward came to be our seas and oceans. Then also began the formation of our sedimentary rocks by the process described above under the term *Gradation.*

Laplacian Hypothesis

As to the origin of the earth, we have two theories which are held by men who have given the subject much study. The older school of geologists usually hold to what is called "The Nebular Hypothesis." This is also called the "Laplacian Hypothesis" from one of its earliest and ablest defenders. This theory of accounting for the origin of the earth ends up in a conclusion that the earth was once a molten mass and yet remains in that condition in the interior of the sphere. From this we name all the rocks below the lowest layers of sedimentary rocks as igneous rocks, or fire rocks.

The later theory of the earth's origin is known as the Planetesimal Hypothesis. This theory also supports the supposition that the earth, at the time that the sedimentary rocks began to be deposited, was in a highly heated state, if not red hot.

Both of these hypotheses predicate the fact that the earth was evolved out of great masses of nebulous matter. From this point the two theories separate to approach again just at the beginning of the formation of sedimentary rocks.

The Laplacian Hypothesis holds that the members of our solar system were evolved out of glowing masses of nebulous matter. It is also held that this great mass of nebulous matter was expanded so that it occupied all the space that is now occupied by our solar system. In the course of long periods of time this nebulous mass cooled and consequently shrank. At the same time it took on a rotary motion and in the cooling and shrinking and rotating there were certain masses of the nebula that became detached from the central body but kept for themselves the characteristics of the parent mass—that is, they cooled, and shrank, and rotated. These detached masses at first may have had the appearance of the rings of Saturn as we see them today. These detached masses each having a center of gravity of its own tended to become globular in the course of time and eventually came to constitute the members of our solar system.

The great central nebular mass, from which these fragments had been thrown in its rotary motion, kept on in its shrinking, cooling, and rotating till it assumed the nature of the sun. The solar system as we know it today with a central sun, eight primary planets, asteroids, moons, and other objects formed within the limits of the solar system, all originated in the great nebula which at one time occupied the space destined for our sun and its accompanying members.

The several planets and all other objects with which we are familiar in our solar system must have been thrown off from the equatorial regions of the central rotating mass since the eight primary planets and their satellites are found revolving about the sun in a zone sixteen degrees wide, eight on each side

of the ecliptic. If one should place himself at the center of the sun and allow his vision to extend toward the starry firmament, he would see the eight primary planets pursuing their courses about the sun all in the same direction, none of them farther away from the ecliptic of the heavens than eight degrees.

These planets occupy distances from the sun depending upon the position of the outer part of the rotating nebula at the time the minor mass was detached. For example, Neptune is farthest from the sun. Its orbit, therefore, marks the outer edge of the parent nebular mass at the time the mass was detached which formed Neptune. The earth's orbit about the sun, 92,000,000 miles distant from the sun today, marks the outer surface of the parent nebula at the time the nebula which formed the earth was detached.

Our earth, according to this theory, became a particular individual planet when the nebular mass which was to form our planet was thrown off from the parent mass. If the hypothesis is true that the detached nebular mass retained the characteristics of the parent mass, then we may begin to think of our earth as an individual unit in what is to be the great solar system. Our earth rotated on an axis, became globular, and shrank in size. It revolved around the central mass, for while the motion which it had as a part of the nebular mass was a rotary motion, the moment it was detached, this former rotary motion is resolved into two motions, a rotary motion in the unit itself and a motion in its part about the central mass.

We come now to study briefly the earth from the time it was detached from the original nebular mass to the beginning of the formation of the earth's sedimentary rocks.

Without doubt the earth continued to cool, shrink, rotate, and revolve. The intense heat which the earth still contained, drove all the lighter gases and vapors into the space about the earth. The tendency to cool also favored the forming of a crust on the surface of the earth. This crust also now had a tendency to retain the heat, and the cooling process was checked except that the crust was becoming cooler and thicker. The vapors and heavier gases now began to return to the surface and to settle in the lower levels. This then is a very brief account of the "Nebular Hypothesis" or the Laplacian Hypothesis of the origin and growth from the original nebular mass to the time when sedimentary rocks began to be deposited upon the beds of the oceans and seas.

The Planetesimal Hypothesis

The Planetesimal Hypothesis is not altogether different from the hypothesis which we have just considered. The Planetesimal Hypothesis starts with a nebula but it is a spiral nebula. This nebula already has motion and its parts are already be-

coming differentiated. Photographs show that in these spiral nebulae there is a central core or necleus around which long arms of nebulous matter are apparently revolving. The arms which reach out from the necleus in this spiral manner are marked here and there by knots of more solid material than are found in other parts. To these knots of semi-solid matter found in the spiral arms of the nebula, the name planetesimals has been given. The word means little planets.

These planetesimals are each separated from the others in the same spiral by a mass of nebula of a rarer composition. In like manner the planetesimals in one spiral arm are separated from those of another arm by similar nebulus matter. The planetesimals, therefore, appear to be scattered about in some regular order in a field of somewhat rarefied nebulous matter in the center of which is the necleus of parent spiral nebula from which the planetesimals appear to have been detached by reason of the rotary motion of the parent nebula itself.

It is now determined that the composition of spiral nebulae differs from that assumed as the nature of the nebulae in the discussion of the Laplacian Hypothesis. Geologists go as far as to say that the knots which are seen in the arms of the spiral nebulae are of the consistency of water or maybe as dense as our clays and rocks.

Now the Planetesimal Hypothesis explains that one of these spiral nebulae found in space aeons ago furnished the origin of our solar system. The knots found in the arms furnishing the basis for the planets, asteroids, and probably some other members of our solar system. The central part, the nucleus of the nebula, became the sun. It is further explained that as time moved on the knots gathered to themselves other knots as well as large quantities of nebular matter which tended to augment particular planetesimals. This union of one planetesimal with another was hastened since they are moving in the same general direction around the nucleus of the spiral nebula.

Thus the earth was brought into the family of planets which with the sun and other heavenly bodies make up our solar system. This Planetestimal Hypothesis explains the origin of both the rotary motion of our earth on its axis, and its revolution about the sun.

Stages of Growth

If then we accept the Planetesimal Hypothesis of the origin of the earth we shall be interested in knowing how that theory accounts for the growth of the earth up to the period of the beginning of sedimentary rocks. A brief account of the stages as presented by this theory will be given for the reader's consideration.

The earth began in a knot of a spiral nebula; this knot became

the nucleus of earth-growth. The knot may have been gaseous or planetesimal, that is a hardened center. As this nucleus moved in its revolution around the center of the spiral mass, it gathered other planetesimals, gases, and other matter. The earth-knot increased in size and grew more dense becoming eventually a solid mass. It now may be considered an earth-body. More and more this earth-body gathers other planetesimals and gases thus growing in volume and taking on the globular form.

It is supposed that an atmosphere at this time gathered about the earth. It probably did not contain all the gases and vapors that are now known, but there was a large sheet of what we may call the earth's air or atmosphere. This atmosphere gathered more gases and vapors, for we must understand that our earth had its rotation, and its revolution about the central mass, the old spiral nebula. The earth mass was undergoing a condensing process and as a result the earth was throwing off heat, and for the time the atmosphere was increasing in volume.

The earth was becoming more condensed and more heated. The heat was so intense that portions of the earth became molten. Thus was laid the basis for volcanic action. This theory of the cause of volcanic action does not admit the necessity for a molten interior, but explains that volcanic activity results from the accumulation of heat which is produced by compression and other heat-generating forces. "The heat of the interior of the earth is thus carried outward about as fast as it liquifies the more fusible parts within its reach. Thus the interior of the earth only reaches the temperature necessary to melt the more fusible parts, leaving the earth as a whole solid all the time."

We have seen that the theory provides for the escape of gases from the earth as it passes through alternate stages of heat and cold, and that the escaped gases and the vapors and gases that are gathered as the young earth passes through space, all are held to the earth by gravity though there was in the earlier periods no segregation of vapors and gases, but one great mass. But the time came when the vapors, particularly water, began to be a distinct element held by this atmospheric mass. In the course of time this water held in the atmosphere began to be precipitated to the earth's surface settling in the lowest levels and thus was laid the foundation of our seas and oceans.

Foundation of Seas and Oceans

The beds thus ready for the seas and oceans are nothing more nor less than the depressions in the uneven surface of the solid earth. The theory further explains that all future additions to the earth's surface in the way of planetesimals must reach either the sea covered basins or the elevated portions of the exposed surface. All materials reaching the earth's surface which was covered with water would rest on the surface and

by reason of the protection which the young ocean furnished would not disintegrate and hence not lose its weight, but would constantly add to the downward pressure upon the sea bed. The planetesimal matter which reached the exposed higher grounds would in course of time be subject to the weathering forces and therefore lose in specific gravity. There was thus established an unequal downward pressure upon the earth's surface which together with other forces brought about a constant tendency to depression in the sea bed while there was a similar tendency to move upward in the exposed portions. Thus the continental forms were pushed up while the ocean beds were as constantly sinking.

When the atmosphere had been cleared of much of the vapor of water, and probably other vapors and water were distributed over the earth's surface, there appeared the first life forms. This first appearance of life did not therefore await the full maturity of the earth but these forms may have developed as the earth approached the later stages of its growth.

The Planetesimal Theory places the period of Volcanic activity at this stage of the earth's growth. It would establish a rather extended period here in which one of the three great processes, previously named, Vulcanism, greatly modified the earth's surface. At the same time there seems to be confusion in the story as told by the rocks for there seems to be great intermingling of igneous rocks with the first formation of sedimentary rocks. In fact we seem to have reached the state when the three great processes mentioned previously are very active. These three forces are Diastrophism. This scientific term names all the forces that are at work or have been at work either to elevate or to depress the surface of the earth. Vulcanism—a term which names the forces which bring the lavas, which have been formed beneath the surface of the earth, to the outer surface of the earth. Gradation names the processes by which the earth material is transported from one place to another and is the process which the layman may see carried on day by day at the present time.

We have thus briefly traced the earth through the various stages of its growth as described in the Planetesimal Hypothesis from the spiral nebula to that stage of the earth's development where theory gives way to the unmistakable and convincing testimony of the sedimentary rocks. From this stage or the interpretation of real facts must take the place of hypothesis. However we must not discard hypothesis as an old friend whom we no longer need, for there are many cases where the revealed facts hinder us from bridging over from one group of known facts to another group of known facts and we should have no way of crossing the chasm except by the good offices of our friend, Hypothesis.

The Geological Eras

Whether we favor the Laplacian or the Planetisimal Hypothesis, as to the formation of the earth from the earliest times, we will be perfectly safe in assuming that there was before the formation of the first sedimentary rocks a "crust" upon which the first rock layers were deposited. The older theory explained that this crust was composed of igneous rocks which had hardened from the loss of heat by radiation. The waste material from the more elevated portions of this igneous crust were washed into the shallow beds of the ocean and the work of laying down the first stratified rocks began.

The Planetesimal theory does not admit that the earth was ever molten, and so regards the surface of the earth prior to sedimentation as made up of planetesimal matter. The supporters of both theories agree that there was great intermingling of the first layers and the "crust." There is slight evidence of life available, but there must have been great confusion at the time the first layers were formed. Igneous matter predominates in the first layers. In fact volcanic action may have thrown vast quantities of igneous matter through rents in many of the first layers. In fact volcanic action has brought large quantities of molten matter to the surface within the past few centuries.

Geology has provided for us a very simple system of classification of these rock layers based upon the absence or presence of the remains of life-forms in these layers. These layers have been studied and named, and their life history written, and their relationships established. The individual layers have been brought into groups and named from the condition of life-forms the remains of which have been found in the various groups. The time occupied in depositing the layers in any group, is spoken of as an era, while subdivisions of an era are known as periods. A brief description of the eras will enable the reader to follow the descriptive matter with greater ease.

The names of the five geologic eras are: The Archeozoic Era; The Proterozoic Era; The Paleozoic Era; The Messozoic Era; and the Econozoic Era. These terms seem to have a common element, and so they do. The word zoic means animal, so each word has something to do with animal—hence life.

Geological Time Divisions

Archeozoic: The Archeozoic Era includes a group of the oldest stratified rocks, and these under ordinary circumstances would be found just above the "crust" of the earth. The word means "beginning of life." However, few if any remains of animal life have been found in the layers of this era. So uncertain are the geologists about the identity of life forms in this era, that the word Azoic—no life—has been applied to this era. The rocks

of the Archeozoic Era are so interwoven with the igneous rocks of the crust that great confusion exists and scientists are very uncertain of their ground in this era.

Proterozoic: The Proterozoic Era names the time when the group of layers just above the Archeozoic rocks were forming. The word may be freely translated "before life", and is applied to those rock layers in which few if any life remains have been found. The Archeozoic and Proterozoic Eras are often classed as one Era and called Azoic—without life. There are no exposures of either the Archeozoic or the Proterozoic rocks in Illinois, and no borings have reached any of these layers in this state. But some igneous formations have been found in Pope and Hardin counties.

Paleozoic: The Paleozoic Era is the third era in order and lies just above the Proterozoic rocks. The word means ancient life—that is, early life. The oldest animal remains are found in the rocks of this era. Since they are the oldest forms they would be by the evolutionary theory the lowest life forms when structure is considered. Something like four hundred species of the fauna of this era have been classified, belonging mostly to the invertebrates. Some plant life has also been recognized. By reference to the Table of Geologic Time Divisions it will be seen there are seven periods of time in the Paleozoic Era and hence seven systems of rock layers. As students of the geology of our own state, we should know something of the systems of this period as they are nearly all found cropping out in Illinois. These we shall consider later in this chapter.

Messozoic: The Messozoic Era includes the time that four systems of rock layers were being formed. This group of layers lies just above the layers of the Paleozoic systems. The word Messozoic means middle life—that is, middle between the early life and the later life. The animal remains in these rock layers are of reptiles, amphibians, and mollusks, with a few low forms of mammals, fishes, and birds. Few of the layers of this era out-crop in Illinois.

Cenozoic: The last era is the Cenozoic Era. This era includes all the rock layers in which we have remains of modern life. We shall find that Illinois will furnish much of interest from this era.

The Geology of Illinois

There are no rocks exposed in Illinois, from either the Archeozoic or the Proterozoic Eras. And no borings have reached completely through the Proterozoic Era. However, borings have reached the Cambrian layers which are the lowest layers in the Paleozoic Era. The systems in this era are as follows: The oldest at the bottom of the list and the newest layers at the top:—

Paleozoic Era	Permian
	Pennsylvanian (Coal)
	Mississippian (Subcarboniferous)
	Devonian
	Silurian
	Ordovician
	Cambrian

So far as known there are no rocks from the Cambrian layers exposed in Illinois and we are not specially interested in these layers in the study of Illinois Geology. But when we come to the Ordovician rocks we are approaching familiar ground.

Theoretically the layers of rock rest on top of one another in a very regular and orderly way—the oldest rocks at the bottom and the latest formations on top. This theoretical plan is not always found in the rock layers when exposed in bluffs or cliffs, and in the borings of wells. Certain rock layers that are prominent in certain places are entirely absent in other places.

A region as long as Illinois from north to south might have its north end depressed so as to be covered with the ocean while the south end might be elevated many hundreds of feet above sea level. In that case there might be sedimentary rocks deposited on the north end while the south end would have no layers of that particular deposit. Therefore layers that are prominent in one part of Illinois may be absent from other parts of the state. In boring wells we find that the records kept of the strata passed through are not the same, though two borings might not be many miles apart. A deposit at a certain river bluff might show forty feet and borings might show that this layer might decrease in thickness away from the river in a wedge shape and finally disappear.

It has been stated above that there are no rocks of the Archeozoic and Proterozoic Eras in Illinois so far as we know by observation. The oldest rocks we know are from the Paleozoic Era. This era has seven periods and so seven systems of rocks, and all but one are found in Illinois. The lowest system, the Cambrian, does not outcrop so far as is now known, but its presence under the other six layers is known by borings.

Paleozoic:—The oldest known layer of the Paleozoic Era which outcrops in Illinois, is a layer of the second or Ordovician System. This is the St. Peter sandstone which is to be seen on the Rock river in the vicinity of Oregon and following down the river almost to Dixon, and also on the Illinois in the region of La Salle and Ottawa. The outcroppings of these rocks in this vicinity is brought about by the anticline which runs from northwest toward the southeast crossing the Rock and the Illinois at Oregon and LaSalle. This is known as the LaSalle anticline. It traverses the state toward the southeast and is the explanation of the oil regions in the southeastern counties of Illinois.

There are two economic values of the St. Peter sandstone. In northern Illinois and in Wisconsin where this layer is found beneath the Trenton and Galena limestone, it is a reservoir where vast quantities of water are stored which is made available through artesian wells. The St. Peter sandstone which lies several hundred feet below the surface in Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, outcrops in Central Wisconsin where it gathers the water for its reservoirs in Northern Illinois. A second economic value is found in the qualities of the sand which adapts it to the manufacture of glass.

Immediately above the St. Peter sandstone we find several layers of limestone. The names given in Northern Illinois are Plattville and Galena limestones. The layers are about 400 feet thick. These two forms of limestone are of economic value. The value as building material is important, also for road making and also for lime. These rocks are also of great value in that they contain large quantities of lead and zinc. The lead mines of Jo Daviess County were flourishing in the early and middle part of the nineteenth century, but the opening of lead and zinc mines in Missouri has dulled the lead interest in the Galena mines.

In the south end of the state two layers, Kinswick and the Plattville correspond, or are closely related to the Galena and Plattville rocks of the north end of the state. But the Kinswick and the Plattville do not outcrop in Southern Illinois, and they are of no economic value so far as known.

Another layer or layers of the Ordovician system is known as the Richmond shales. These layers were laid down from quantities of mud (clay) sand, and limy sediment. This Richmond shale is therefore sandstone, limestone, and shale. Often the layers are distinct, but quite as often the three elements were apparently intermingled and the result is a confused mass containing all or a part of the three constituent elements.

This Richmond shale is economically valuable. The limestone is good building material, the shale is used for brick and other clay products. These layers outcrop in the immediate vicinity of Thebes in Alexander County, where the original rock layers have been greatly disturbed. The sandstone is known as the Thebes sandstone while the limestone layers are known as the Fernvale limestone.

Silurian:—The Silurian System, the third oldest system of rocks in Illinois is known by two important layers, one the Niagara limestone, the other, the Alexandrian, which is made up of limestone and shale. The Niagara limestone is the most important rock in the northeast part of Illinois. This formation is present in about eight of the counties lying in the vicinity of Lake Michigan. It is also found in the northwest corner of the state in the vicinity of Rock River and about Galena. The

Galena deposits are rich in lead and zinc. The Alexandrian layers in the southern portion of the state are marked near Thebes as Orchard Creek shale, to the north of Thebes as Sexton Creek limestone. These layers furnish material for building purposes, for concrete work, and for macadam roads.

Devonian:—The Devonian System lies just above the Silurian rocks. This system is studied as the older and later Devonian. The first is found along the Mississippi River from a point some miles south of Thebes in Alexander County to the immediate vicinity of Grand Tower in Jackson County. The outcroppings occur in the bluffs along the river and inland along the tributaries for some six to ten miles. The oldest layers are known as New Scotland Beds and are of lime formation. These rocks are also found all along the Mississippi as far north as Rock Island. Another deposit of the Devonian system is known as the Clear Creek limestone, and is found in Union County and as far north as Grand Tower. Here also are the Hamilton limestones and further north along the Mississippi are the black shale deposits in Calhoun County and farther north. All the outcroppings of Devonian rocks found in the north part of the state are of the later or upper Devonian. The geologic maps do not show actual deposits in the eastern part of Illinois, but the maps point out the possibility of a large part of eastern Illinois as being underlain with Devonian layers.

Mississippian:—The system just above the Devonian is the Mississippian which is divided into an upper and a lower Mississippian. The Mississippian system is made up of limestone, shales, and sandstone. The different layers take on different names locally. The oldest layer is known as Kinderhook from its being found at Kinderhook, Pike County. This deposit is also found in Hardin and Pope Counties. This is a shale and takes on various shades in the several places where it is found. It is found as far north as Henderson County. The Burlington group of limestones are next older than the Kinderhook. These rocks are found in the western line of counties from Henderson to Jersey. The limestone layers are of different degrees of quality, some of them decompose when brought into sunlight and air; others are of a good quality and some lime is burned from them.

Keokuk:—Above the Burlington limestone is the Keokuk group. It is found at Nauvoo and at Hamilton in Hancock County. These layers are rich in the remains of animal life. The lower beds are a cherty limestone while the upper beds are hydraulic limestone in places, and some cement has been manufactured from these layers.

The St. Louis group lies above the Burlington and is one of the most interesting of the Mississippian system. This group of lime, shale, and sandstone layers can be traced from Hancock

County south along the Mississippi till it reaches Jackson and Union counties. Here it turns east and constitutes the backbone of the Ozark mountains. The water and weather resisting qualities of the St. Louis limestones make them very valuable for building purposes. The stone for the foundation of the Capitol at Springfield was taken from the St. Louis limestone in Hancock County. In Hardin County, at the east end of the Ozarks, the St. Louis limestone is traversed by veins of fluor spar, zinc, lead and sliver. These minerals were mined as early as 1842, but they could not be gotten in sufficient quantities to pay. It is said these are the only rocks in the state that are traversed by true metallic veins.

The next older layer of the Mississippian system is the Chester group. It is found in the south part of the state and extends only as far north as the latitude of Alton. The layers are limestone, sandstone, and shale. The layers outcrop in a belt which starts in Hardin County and follows the southwest border of the coal field to the vicinity of Belleville. Good building stone is found in both the limestone and in the sandstone of this group.

Pennsylvanian:—The Pennsylvanian system is next to the last of the Paleozoic Era. Without doubt this is the most important system in this era. It is sometimes called the Carboniferous system because the coal measures are found in these stratified rocks.

Pennsylvanian

This group is divided in Illinois into three well marked layers; the Pottsville, the Carbondale, and the McLeansboro. The Pottsville is a deep layer of sandstone, sometimes called "Mill Stone Grit." It is about 200 feet thick in Southern Illinois but thins to about 25 feet in the north part of the state. These rocks are exposed in the north sides of the Ozarks and are variously colored. Some rocks are nearly white, but often stained red or brown by the presence of iron.

Above the Pottsville sandstone lies the coal measures known as the Carbondale and the McLeansboro formations. These layers are, combined, 1,000 or 1,200 feet thick. They are composed of alternate layers of shale, sandstone, conglomerate, limestone and coal, with considerable iron intermingling with the other layers. The shale strata make up a greater portion of the thickness of the formations. These layers lie on generally horizontal position, the dip, however, is sufficient to carry certain seams from very near the surface to many hundred feet in the central and northern part of the coal field.

The coal field in Illinois occupies about 37,000 square miles and has very well defined boundaries. The workable veins are deeper in the central part of the state while around the margins of the field the workable veins may be found nearer the surface.

There are sixteen coal seams in the coal measures, ranging in thickness from a few inches to sixteen to eighteen feet in some places. The proportion of coal to the entire thickness of the system is as 1 to 40, or one fortieth of the thickness. If the Coal Measures are 1,200 feet thick that would give thirty feet for the thickness of all the coal seams.

Just below each vein of coal is often found a very good quality of clay and in some places it is used for the manufacture of commercial products. Above the veins of coal there is a roof usually of shale but now and then of limestone. There are nine different layers of coal in Illinois that are or have been worked and there are other thinner veins that may be worked, but of course not so profitably. The coal in Illinois is all of the grade known as bituminous.

There are few or no examples of the Permian system in Illinois and we pass to the next era.

Cenozoic:—The last era is the Cenozoic. This era has two systems, the Tertiary and the Quaternary. The Tertiary formation approached Illinois from the south but reached only the counties which border the Ohio river, Alexander, Pulaski, Massac, and Pope. The deposits are sandy shales and conglomarate. Some deposits of clay are thought to be of the quality of potter's clay. Worthen says that there are signs of Tertiary deposits along the Mississippi River as far north as the vicinity of Quincy.

The Quarternary System "embraces all the superficial material, including sands, clays, gravel, and soil." These are spread rather evenly over the state and constitute what geologists call "Mantle rock." It is of different thicknesses in different parts of the state. There are small areas in the Ozarks where there is no mantle rock, the solid layers being exposed to the winds and rain, and running water. In many places in this state the mantle rock is several feet deep.

The Glacial Period

The Cenozoic Era is so recent and its history is so vitally related to the life of the human race that it will be quite proper to give a more detailed account of the geological story of this period. As said before, the Cenozoic era is divided into the Tertiary and the Quaternary periods. The later period is popularly divided into the Glacial and the Post-Glacial formations. These formations have been so recent and the territory covered so extensive, that great interest attaches to them.

In North America there seems to have been three great centers of glacial movement—one known as the Labrador center; another known as the Keewatin center; and the third as the Cordilleran center. From the Labrador center a great ice sheet seems to have moved to the east and covered th gulf of St.

Lawrence and adjacent islands; also west into the Hudson Bay region; a third movement was toward the southwest, toward the region of the Great Lakes. From the Keewatin center, great fields of ice were sent to the southwest reaching the arid regions of the western plains; here it came in contact with the advance movements from the Cordilleran center.

The ice sheet which moved southward from the peninsula of Labrador is the one we in Illinois are specially interested in. There was slight opposition in the path of this movement. It reached our state at the northeast corner and spread almost entirely over it. It seemed to move south and west across the state, reaching its farthest point at the foot of the Ozarks, sixteen hundred miles from Labrador. The advancing front in Illinois took on a sort of cresent shape, and its furthest movement southward reached a curved line running from Chester in Randolph County southeast into Jackson County, eastward through Jackson and eastward through Williamson, and northeast through Saline and Gallatin, reaching the Wabash near its mouth. This line marks also the southern limit of the prairie and is coincident with the northern foothills of the Ozarks, which trend in a general east and west direction.

Illinois was subject to at least four ice sheet invasions according to the latest investigations. These in order of time were: First, the Illinois sheet, the one just described which seems to have covered nearly the entire estate. The ice sheet seems not to have been able to push its way over the Ozarks. The counties partly covered by the ice sheet are Jackson, Williamson, Saline, Gallatin, and White; those not reached by the ice were the counties of Union, Johnson, Pope, Hardin, Alexander, Pulaski and Massac. This is the largest unglaciated area in the state. There is another area which the ice sheet did not cover. It is in the northwest part of the state and includes most of Jo Daviess County. Then there is a third area which is put down on the map as a driftless area; this is in the south side of Pike County and including all the county of Calhoun.

There was a second invasion which is known as the Iowan sheet. It is not known whether this sheet had its origin in Labrador or near the Hudson Bay, but more than likely from the Keewatin center. It seems to have approached Illinois from the northwest and to have moved southeastward over the state. There is a "profusion of large granatoid boulders which lie chiefly on the surface and are somewhat aggregated into a boulder belt on the eastern border of the tract." From these boulders the people of some of the localities where they are plentiful have built residences and other buildings, yard fences, and ornamental structures. They vary in size from six inches in diameter to two feet or more. Such houses and buildings as mentioned may be seen in DeKalb and in adjacent counties.

The area covered by this Iowan invasion may be bounded by Rock River on the west, Wisconsin on the north, Lake Michigan on the east, and the parallel of thirty-nine north latitude on the south.

A third invasion of Illinois by ice sheets from the north is called the Wisconsin invasion. This ice sheet covered the northeast quarter of the state. It extended south to Clark County on the east side of the state and reached a distance west of Lake Michigan of some fifty or sixty miles. It would be possible therefore to find remains of all three of these ice sheets in a single boring in the territory around the west side of Lake Michigan.

No other single agent has been so potent in the modification of the surface of the earth as have glaciers and ice sheets. When we remember that these ice sheets were hundreds of feet and possibly thousands of feet thick, and were hundreds of miles in width and length, some adequate notion may be formed of their power to plow up and completely change the surface structure of the earth.

The debris these ice sheets brought down with them from the Laurentian highlands was distributed over nearly all the state. This material which eventually became the basis of our soil in the glaciated areas, was transported in several ways: first, much of it was pushed along ahead of the front part of the advancing glacial sheet, so that when the forward movement began slowing up, this material was left scattered along in lines agreeing in general with the front of the advancing glacial sheet at various times. These deposits have a general east and west or a northwest and southeast direction. Second, much material was carried along under the ice-sheet and ground to finer parts. This is found distributed pretty evenly over the state. Third, other material was carried on the surface of the ice-sheet and would often become deeply inbedded in it. As the great flow of ice approached the warmer latitudes, these objects carried on the surface of the sheet would become warm and would gradually work their way deeply into the ice. When the flow southward as finally checked these objects ate their way to the bottom of the ice and rested on the earth's surface. Lastly, vast quantities of waste were carried by the streams which continually flowed from the melting ice. Much of this detritus was left on the broad flat prairies, but vast quantities were carried by running water into the creeks and rivers and at flood times when the river overflowed its banks, the sediment was left on the overflowed land to build up the alluvial bottoms.

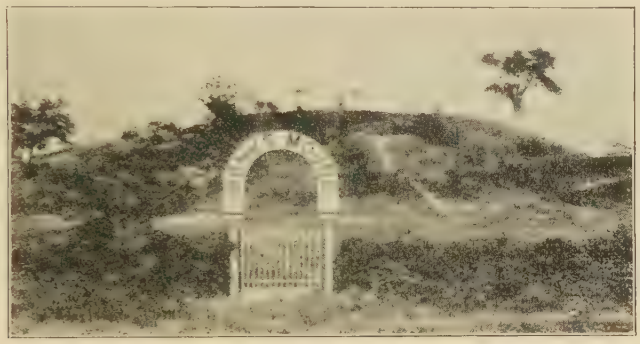
The material which these glaciers brought into our state is called Drift. Its composition varies, but it is usually found to be sand, clay, gravel and boulders. This drift is often found stratified, but more generally is without definite layer formation.

This material will be further considered when we discuss the soils of our state.

We now come to the last phase of the Geology—the Human or Present Period.

The Present Period

We now see the earth as the home of man. Through untold ages the Creator has been gradually unfolding his plan to us, of fitting the earth by these great geologic processes to be man's temporary home. There has been deposited in the various layers of the earth all kinds of rocks, metals, useful and precious, oil, coal, water, etc. On its surface He has caused the trees and plants, grasses, grains, for the food and clothing of the race. Animal life, which is so near man in intelligence, has been



MONK'S MOUND, NEAR EAST ST. LOUIS

scientifically distributed over the earth and everything has conspired to produce an environment where God's greatest experiment—the nurture of the human race—is in process of completion. It must not be supposed that the forces which have been operating through all the geological ages have all run their courses and are no longer active and powerful. Many of the forces which carried on the great process are still active and will continue to work for untold ages. Among these we may mention the forces affecting the elevation and subsidence of the continental forms; the work which has been done by running water is still being carried on; the forces of disintegration—alternation of heat and cold by the help of moisture are still as active as ever. We might from this brief survey conclude that the end of the world is not yet, and so it seems. The age of man is just beginning. But so lavish as nature has been in producing a physical environment which furnishes man with very needed element for the building and maintaining of a highly organized social structure, there are warnings which must be sounded

and precautions which must be taken to conserve our heritage. There are certain desirable conditions which the people are not able to maintain. We are using our coal supply at the rate of one percent in eighty-five years. At that rate in 8500 years our coal supply will be exhausted. Already the timbered surfaces of the earth have shrunk into a minimum area. The soils of the earth are in need of constant upbuilding. The wild animal life is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and even domesticated animals are, many of them, no longer a necessity. It is not therefore out of place at the close of a chapter which has enumerated the wonderful activities which have produced a perfect physical stage upon which man shall act his part in a short drama, to warn him to keep constantly before him the necessity for his cooperation with the forces of nature for the preservation of his great heritage.

Our Soils

Illinois has four general kinds of soil, or rather there are four recognized sources of the soils of the state. First, there are the soils which were made from the surface rocks which by their position were exposed to the mechanical and chemical influences. Second, the soils which have their source in the material brought into the state by the ice-sheet. Third, the soil which had its origin in the loess whose origin is not yet well established. And fourth, the soil found in the river and creek bottoms, and known as alluvium. There are other distinctions that might be made, but these are the greater divisions.

The earth in any particular place has had its last inundation from the sea and hence the last layer of sedimentary rock. This region, we will suppose, has been pushed up so that its surface becomes "dry land." If, as we may suppose, all of Illinois was pushed above sea level for the last time, its surface would consist of one immense layer of sedimentary rock or perchance several different kinds of rock formation might be exposed here and there. If in the upward movement the crust of the earth could have become irregular, then when the climatic conditions became favorable there would be rain and sunshine, freezing and thawing, and other conditions which would tend to break down the physical and chemical composition of the rock in the upper rock layer.

The broken material of this upper rock layer is the basis of the first kind of soil mentioned above. It is known as Residuary soil. The soil formed from the upper layers of rock will, if the surface is generally level, remain where the change from rock to soil occurred. If the surface is sloping, there will be a movement of the soil along with running water to lower levels. Where the surface is comparatively level the soil remains and as the layer of soil becomes deeper as time passes, the rock surfaces

being somewhat protected, will "weather" more slowly and the soil layer grows thick less rapidly. Now this is the soil forming process which has taken place on all parts of Illinois; but its processes are hidden wherever the ice sheet has covered the state. There are three unglaciated regions as has been pointed out above; one, the largest area, including in whole or in part twelve of the counties at the extreme south end of the state. A second unglaciated area is found in the northwest corner of the state. And a third comprises the county of Calhoun and the south half of Pike.

It will be readily seen that the character of the soil formed by the process of decay of the original rocks will be determined largely by the nature of the rock deposits exposed in different localities. If the rocks are limestone the soils will be different from what they would if the exposed layer were sandstone. Then there are other soil elements that become a part of the covering besides that which comes from the rocks. At least in parts of Illinois this residual soil has been covered over with loess and in other places vegetation has added its share to the productivity of the present soil. (It has been estimated that the residuary soil is on an average five feet deep over the unglaciated areas.)

In these driftless areas the "soils show variations which correspond in a rough way with variations in the structure of the rocks from which they are derived. In regions underlaid by shale or limestones a more compact and adhesive soil is formed than in sandstone regions, while each class of limestones has its own peculiar soil. With proper rotation of crops these soils constitute a fertile portion of the state, otherwise they become exhausted sooner than soils formed from glacial drift."

The second kind of soil is that formed from the materials transported by the ice sheet. The character of the soil will vary as the material transported varied. Three general classes have been recognized. First, a stony or glacial clay soil. This is made from the weathered surface of the drift sheet unaffected by water in its formation and not subsequently covered over with loess or silt. This soil is found in the "corn belt" north of the Shelbyville moraine. The gravelly soils are found near the streams and lakes and in regions where lakes once existed. It is not of special value except as a subsoil for loamy deposits. A third kind of soil is found in the old beaches and along certain rivers. Mason County presents a very excellent illustration of this class of drift soils.

It should be remembered that there may have been a considerable layer of residuary soil over the level central and northern part of Illinois before the invasion of the ice sheet. If there were layers of residuary soil covering the rocky earth crust, it was all pushed along and transported far away from the place

where it was formed. It is stated by the geologist that much of the material which glaciers transport by different processes has been carried a thousand miles from the place where the material had its origin. There is therefore no geological connection between the drift soil found in a certain place and the rocks immediately below.

We hear much about the black "Corn Belt" in Illinois. Climatically considered, Illinois comprises three great belts—the wheat belt in the northern end of the state, the corn belt occupying the middle division of the state and the cotton belt which applies to the south third of the state. The explanation of the "black" in the soil of central Illinois may be found in the fact that this region had from the earliest times great crops of wild grasses, and while fires often swept over these areas and destroyed the stems and leaves, the roots remained to produce another crop. These roots formed thick beds of matted vegetable matter reaching down to the depth of probably two feet. In addition, in many places the surface was covered with water and rich deposits of vegetable matter was added. This organic matter adds a very rich element in the growing of crops and gives the darkened appearance to the soil.

Bulletin 54, December, 1908, United States Bureau of Soils, says: *Marshall black clay loam* (Illinois) "is a heavy, somewhat sticky, granular clay loam, containing a large percentage of silt and organic matter. It has a depth of about 18 inches. This soil type has formed where the natural drainage was poor. The surface is level. In its original condition it is wet and swamp and required thorough drainage." It is stated that the soil in the central part of Illinois is made up of so many sources that it would be strange if it were not very productive. The drift soil itself has many elements of productivity, and added to this the spread of a rich layer of loess over the black prairies, and again the great amount of humus in the soil all tend to make it a very rich soil.

A third kind of soil, or rather source of the soil in Illinois, is loess soil. The loess soils are very widely distributed and are of three classes according to the degree of their previousness to water. They are those soils that are readily pervious; those that are slowly pervious, and those that are nearly impervious. The first is the kind of soil found where loess deposits are found in the south end of the state. These readily pervious soils appear around the fringe of the state near the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash. Out in the middle counties of Southern Illinois, in Clay, Marion, and adjacent counties the loess soil become of the nature of white clay. Its chief ingredients is silica, and the soil is adapted to the raising of grains and fruits. This whitish soil is the first thing which attracts the attention of people who are accustomed to the black soil of DeWitt and

Champaign and other corn-producing counties in the Central and Northern parts of the state. These visitors from the northern counties say: "Why your soil is so poor, it is as white as chalk." It is not necessarily the poor quality of the soil, but the peculiar mechanical structure which allows the water of the rainy springs to escape, together with the extended drouths—from June to September that prevents this region covered with loess soil from presenting an attractive appearance in midsummer. The slowly pervious loess soils are found in this regions of the lower parts of the Illinois River. And the third kind, that which has a nearly pervious make-up, may be found in the interior of South Central Illinois. This white soil is a fine soil for fruits. Clay, and Marion, and Wayne are good examples of this impervious loess. These counties are giving more and more attention to the raising of fruits, especially apples.

The deposit of large quantities of loess soil upon the hilly parts of the southern end of the state is largely responsible for the wonderful adaption of these hills to the growing of all forms of fruits and vegetables. Bald Knob, near Alto Pass, one of the highest parts of the Ozarks, is 800 feet high and is devoid of timber for two hundred feet from its top and the soil is very productive. It is of a deep rich brown color. Apples, peaches, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, and grains abound. The owner says there is a continual deposit on its top and sides of a fine powdered dust which the winds seem to bring from the surrounding country.

Alluvial soils, the fourth class mentioned, are found in all river valleys and even in creek bottoms. Running water brings vast quantities of detritus from higher levels, and when these streams overflow their banks the speed is checked and the material carried in suspension is deposited upon the overflowed surfaces. The alluvial soils are the most productive of all the soils, but their location in river bottoms has heretofore prevented their being used for their full value. The recent drainage laws allow the organization of drainage districts for the reclamation of this land. Prices of such lands have gone from $5 and $10 an acre to $300 an acre within less than a dozen years.

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL BASIS OF THE STATE'S GREATNESS

TWO ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS—ANALYSIS OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT — INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONS — CONTOUR — CLIMATE—RESOURCES, MINERAL, VEGETABLE, ANIMAL.

Without doubt the greatness of any state is the result of two interacting, mutually and vitally related factors. There must be a material or physical basis. There must be a given area of the earth's surface upon which to construct the state. In all state constitutions this area has very definite fixed boundaries. The boundaries may be natural or artificial, but the state must occupy a very definite area with very definite boundaries. All political science writers are careful to make it plain that the political state must have a physical basis. There must be soil, timber, metals, minerals, building stone, climatic conditions, waterways, and other elements which enter into the physical basis.

TWO ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS

But all these physical elements which nature in the goodness of her heart has provided would avail naught without another essential factor, namely, people. Man must bring an intelligent direction to the forces of both nature and man in order that their relationship may be fruitful in those things which shall minister to the well being of the individuals and the institutions which are to grow upon this physical basis.

The poet has said that the state is constituted of

"Men—high-minded Men"—

But high-minded men can not alone constitute a state. Men have never constituted a state in the great Sahara desert, nor within the Arctic circle. Nor will they ever build a great state in either place. The reason is not far to find. There is no physical basis for a state at least a great state in either place.

It would be as futile for a low-minded people to attempt to constitute a state on the most favorable physical basis. There are many striking illustrations of the failure which an incompetent race makes in attempting to build a great state even upon a physical basis of unsurpassed resources. It takes two coordinate elements to produce what the world would call a great state—territory and population, rich and abundant physical resources, and a people rich in intellectual, moral, and physical resources.

It must be kept constantly in mind in analyzing the greatness of the state that the relation between the two factors, the natural

environment and the population is a vital one, that these two factors are vitally related, "useless each without the other." Again we must remember that each factor is constantly modifying the other factor. Man undergoes changes in his mental and physical nature if he goes from place to place. In warmer climates he naturally becomes sluggish. On the rockbound seashore or among the rugged mountains he becomes vigorous, brave, and resourceful. But man bridges the streams, cuts canals, and tunnels the mountains. Under his genius the world has become smaller and its mysteries have become open secrets. But in most of these modifications the changes are progressive, the world becomes better, and the state profits.

Analysis of the Physical Environment.

Political Science Writers have agreed that the natural environment may profitably be considered under four heads—The Contour of the Earth's Surface, The Climate, The Resources, and the General Aspects of Nature. These four phases of the natural environment really condition the institutional life of the race. And while these aspects of the physical environment will always determine in a very definite way what shall be the direction of man's activity, each has been and will, in a large way, be modified by man.

By the Contour of the Earth's Surface is meant land and water, areas, location and magnitude of the mountains, location and description of geographical units, mass, elevation and slope of land surfaces, and natural boundaries of geographical units—particularly important as political boundaries of states.

The state is usually erected in a geographical unit with well defined physical boundaries. Thus the people within the state have in the main the same influences acting upon them and there is a tendency toward unity of aims and unity of means for their attainment. Spain, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Greece, California and Illinois are examples of states whose territorial areas have quite well defined physical boundaries.

The greatness of a state may depend in a marked degree, other factors being favorable, upon the extent of its area. Portugal could hardly be placed in the list of great states. Likewise, Serbia, Denmark, Ireland, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. However, small states have been the saving clause in European History, whereas the broad expanse of Russia has been its undoing.

While the greatness of a state may depend in no small degree upon the extent of its area and upon its natural boundaries, there must not be such barriers as to produce isolation. Progress in civilization depends upon intercourse with other states. While therefore natural boundaries are of advantage, they must not be prohibitive of an interchange of products and ideas.

Rivers, lakes, parallels and meridians should be slight obstacles to the intercourse which one state desires to have with another.

Much of the greatness of a state will depend upon the direction of the outlets of that state. Greece's outlets led her to the east and south—toward Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. These seem to have been the sources of her culture, as they were of the physical sustenance. Rome faced west and her first contact with the outer world was with barbarians mainly. Later she turned east and encountered culture that was centuries old. How fortunate that America faces east geographically. Europe faces west and the transfer of all that was best in England, France, Portugal and Spain to the new world was an easy task.

Climatic conditions help or hinder much. These conditions refer to heat, light and moisture, chiefly. It is pointed out that the early political state originated in warm climates. Here the problem of sustaining human life was a simple one, and no great amount of initiative was necessary. But it is further shown that while states originating in warm climates flourish through the early stages of development, they seldom reach a very advanced stage of civilization.

The cold latitudes are not conducive to the development of physical and intellectual vigor. Too much time is consumed in warding off the benumbing influences of low temperatures. So far, therefore, as climate depends merely upon distance from the equator, the low and high latitudes are prejudicial to the promotion of the higher and better forms of civilized life.

The practical tests of state building in rainless regions are not very encouraging. Great rainless regions such as the Sahara desert and the plains region in the western United States have little physical basis for the support of an economic and political life. "All great states have arisen in areas where a temperate climate is combined with a moderate amount of moisture." From a social point of view the study of crime in warm and cold climates is very interesting. In warm climates the age of maturity is reached earlier than in cold countries, the birth rate is higher, population is denser, and physical contact of people more intimate than in cold countries. In warm climates crimes take on the nature of offenses against the person, such as "murder, assault, and rape." While in colder latitudes the region is more sparsely settled and there is less frequent personal contact than is the case in warm climates. Here the offenses against organized society are against property rather than against persons. They are more often thefts, gambling, and disregard of property rights.

The resources of a state may easily be classified as mineral, vegetable and animal. The chief mineral resources includes iron, lead, zinc, gold, silver, copper, oil, coal, building stone, clay, and the soil. These are generally considered the natural wealth of

a state, but the economist does not regard them as wealth until they have passed through the hands of man and become really useful. However, we can see what a wonderful advantage a state has that has an abundant supply of these minerals. The ownership or control of sections where nature has made rich deposits of iron, coal, oil, and other minerals has caused wars and rumors of wars, and will continue to do so as long as human nature remains as now constituted.

The vegetable resources of a region are an essential factor in the building of a state. The food of a people is directly or indirectly dependent upon the variety and abundance of the vegetable growth. Not only so but shelter and clothing must be supplied quite largely from the vegetable world. It has been shown that the spread of population over the earth has had its origin in the necessity that peoples have found for food, shelter and clothing. Greece and Rome and modern England have been great colonizers, and in each case the explanation finds its basis in the need of an ever crowded population for food, clothing, and shelter. Not only so, but commerce, the spreader of civilization, has its fundamental explanation in the desire to provide the great essentials of life—food, clothing, and shelter.

The third form of resource is the animal world. A very cursory view of the relation of these three great divisions of the world's resources will show us that there is a law of dependence which holds among them. The vegetable world has its origin and its sustenance in the soil of the earth. The soil is only one form of the mineral world. "Soil is decayed rocks." When there is no soil there can be no true vegetables and where there are no vegetables there can be no animal life. Where there is no animal life there is slight basis for the building of a state. The state is dependent on man, man is dependent on animals, animals are dependent on the vegetable world, the vegetable world is dependent upon the soil, and soil is dependent upon the other forms of the mineral world.

The state in its early stages found a large part of its support in the wild animal life of the plains and rivers and forests. These various animals furnished the population with a large supply of food and clothing. As time went on the animals became domesticated and their usefulness was greatly extended. A great state must be well supplied with domesticated animals such as horses, cattle, sheep, hogs and fowls. And most states give attention to the preservation and propagation of the wild animals which naturally belong to its territory.

There remains to be considered briefly the General Aspects of Nature as influencing the development of the state. In a general way we know that the aspect of nature greatly affects the mental life of people. It is said that the beautiful character of Greek life as portrayed in the oration of Pericles over the dead,

was the ideal counter part of the beautifully subdued mountains, the gently flowing hillsides, the quiet streams, the balmy air, and the glorious aspects of the rising and the setting sun. The mental life of the mountaineer is in marked contrast to that of the agriculturist on our western prairies. Buckle in his History of Civilization in England calls attention to the fact that a people who live in the presence of the constant manifestations of the violent forces of nature are unable to organize and maintain a very high type of civilization. Certain regions of the earth are subject to volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tornadoes, great mountains, mighty rivers subject to periods of destructive floods, etc. There cannot be in the presence of such forces of nature a very earnest and persistent effort to plan permanent agencies of a great state.

It must not be thought that the individual and the state are dominated by the physical environment which has been described in the foregoing paragraphs. Man's distinguishing characteristic is his ability to subordinate the physical world about him. He makes the wind bring his ship into the port from the uttermost parts of the earth, and under his direction it pumps the water from the depths of the earth. The rivers and lakes carry his produce of the soil to the markets of the earth. Instead of rivers and mountains becoming impossible barriers, he tunnels the one and bridges the other. He has redeemed large areas of swamps, deserts, and mountain sides. Forests have been encouraged to grow in barren places, and animal life has been transported and acclimated to territory hundreds of miles away from its original habitat. Not only has air yielded to man's control, but the very ether has surrendered to the simple yet mysterious wireless. Among the marvelous things which man has done is the transmission of power and heat and light over many hundred miles of space through a simple copper wire. Not only so, but the human voice in song and in oratory may be broadcasted to the four corners of the earth. And truly may we say with Samuel Morse—

"What hath God wrought"!

Industrial Institutions—The Determining Factors

The writers of the Industrial History of the world have recognized seven great industrial activities, namely: Herding, Fishing, Mining, Lumbering, Agriculture, Manufacture and Commerce.

Whether a people shall follow one or the other of these industrial activities is determined primarily by two great factors: Geology and Geography. Often both of these factors contribute to the endowment of a state so that it may be found that the state may be able to engage in two or more of the industrial lines named above with great profit.

(Courtesy Miss Emma Rebman)

A SPLENDID SPECIMEN, JOHNSON COUNTY

1—Herding or grazing is a primitive industry. Abraham and Lot were herdsmen. They lived upon the products of their flocks and herds. In modern times this industry is carried on in parts of the earth where the land cannot be cultivated, and where the social life is of the simpler kind.

2—Fishing too is a very old occupation. The question of following this occupation is one to be settled by the presence of good "fishing grounds." It is found profitable along certain shores of the ocean and seas and to a less profitable degree along inland waters. While the calling is as old (if not older) as the days of Peter, James and John, it has been modernized and is a great industry in many parts of the world.

3—Lumbering too is as old as the days of Noah and King Solomon and Hiram Abif. The geography of a state determines whether its people shall lend their energies to the furthering of this occupation or to other forms. It is as natural for the people of Maine, Arkansas, Oregon and British Columbia to be engaged in the lumbering business as it is for Massachusetts people along the coast to be in the Cod fishing business, or for the people of Colorado to be engaged in the mining of metals, or the people of Kansas and North Dakota to raise wheat.

4—The three foregoing industries are not only primitive, but they cannot be ranked with the four remaining ones in importance. Agriculture, mining, manufacturing and commerce are universal activities. Blest is the state which is provided by nature with a rich soil spread over millions of acres. Agriculture was also a primitive industry, but from the crude experimental stage of only a century or so ago it has passed through various stages of improvement until today it has taken rank as a science. The raising of the food grains is no longer left to chance. The state has spent millions of dollars in teaching scientific agriculture. It is no longer a haphazard enterprise, but a really scientific process. Soils have been analyzed, and their productive power increased by the addition of those elements in which they are found deficient. This scientific knowledge is not only for men with scientific training, but it has been so simplified that laymen in agriculture may become expert producers upon the farm. Blest then we say is the agricultural state, for the farms feed the world.

But it is possible that the state may be a great agricultural area unsurpassed in fertility, and at the same time deep in the recesses of her rock layers may be inexhaustible resources of coal and iron and lead, and zinc, and oil, and floorspar, and clay and gas; and rock layers from which lime, cement, glass, and building stone may be derived. Blest is the state that can boast of these resources. But what shall be said of a state that possesses agricultural possibilities in the highest degree, and at the same

time can boast of rich and varied mineral resources? It certainly is twice blest.

It seldom is good economy for a state to sell its resources as raw material. It is said it is an economic principle of Denmark that no article produced within her borders must ever be exported therefrom until the article has received all the labor which is necessary to make it a completed article ready for the consumer. This policy the American colonies desired to adhere to in the pre-revolutionary days. But England supported the policy that it should be the duty of the colonies to produce the raw material while it should be her privilege to make the finished article. The cotton growing states of the American Union were exporters of "raw material" before the Civil war. There were few factories south of the Mason & Dixon line and the Ohio River in those days. Now the smoke pours out of thousands of chimneys in the new south and her prosperity goes forward with leaps and bounds.

Raw materials must therefore be made ready for consumption inside the state where they are produced. Wheat must be made into flour; hogs must be dressed and made as nearly ready for the table as possible; fruits and vegetables must be canned and otherwise prepared for storage; beeves must be made ready for the butcher's block, and their hides made into boots and shoes for the retailer's shelves; the milk from the great dairies must be transformed into butter and cheese and condensed ready for shipment to the ends of the earth. To do all this requires millions of horse power. To run these great factories we must have fuel or the power which comes from falling water. Water power will seldom be found generally distributed over a great agricultural state. Fortunate therefore that state which has abundance of "raw material" and at the same time has inexhaustible stores of fuel beneath her mantle rock.

But thrice blest is that state that ranks at the front as an agricultural state, and as a mining state, and as a manufacturing state.

But what shall it avail a state to produce enough raw material to feed the world and enough coal to furnish the power to prepare this food for the tables of the world if there is no means of transporting it beyond its borders. It is said that many of the famines in India could be averted if only the surplus food products which are often plentiful in one province could be transported to the starving people in another province not so very far away.

Transportation as an industry of any state can never reach very large proportions unless the state itself can furnish a very large share of the products to be transported. Transportation which originates in any state as Ohio and passes across a state

as Indiana and terminates in another state as Illinois will never profit the middle state to any marked degree. Through trains which pass through the limits of the villages along the road profit the villages little or nothing.

A state that profits from commerce must originate that commerce. Commerce that originates and terminates within the state is doubly profitable. The means of transportation of which a state may avail itself have in late years been confined to rivers, lakes, and railroads. But another means is claiming the attention of the public; it is the truck system which is greatly encouraged by the hard roads of modern construction.

What bounds may we set to the greatness of a state whose agricultural possibilities are unsurpassed, and whose mining interests are second to few of the states of equal area, and whose manufacturing processes are varied and extensive, and finally one whose railroad mileage is second only to one other great state.

Contour

Illinois when put to the tests will be found to have a claim to high rank in all the aspects of a physical basis. In area Illinois contains 56,650 square miles. This is some smaller than an average of the forty-eight states in the union, which is 60,434. At the same time it is larger than any one of a dozen of the smaller independent European countries. Area is essential to the maintenance of large populations; particularly is this true if the state is in an agricultural region. Large areas also contribute to variety in all kinds of products which will add greatly to other forms of industrial activities. There is a relation between the area of a state and the variety of its climate. This is readily seen if we find the area reaching through several degrees of latitude. Illinois is longer north and south than east and west, and reaches from latitude 37 to 42° and 30′—a distance of 385 miles. This gives an appreciable difference in the annual temperature between these two opposite ends of the state. If Illinois were laid down along the Atlantic coast, Cairo would fall on the mouth of Chesapeake Bay and the northern boundary would be on Lynn, Massachusetts.

Illinois is very fortunate as to its water ways. The Mississippi is the noblest river on the earth's surface. It washes the western side of the state from the extreme northwest corner to the extreme south end of the state at Cairo. The distance of actual contact is approximately six hundred miles. There are no serious obstructions to navigation, and in places it offers conditions for the generation of powerful currents of electrical energy. Along its course the geological survey has indicated that there are extensive deposits of clay, gravel, sand, and silt. This region is usually known as the bottom lands and is one of the most fertile regions in the state. In many places, however, these

lands are subject to overflow except where substantial levees have been built to keep the water within the channel.

The Ohio forms the boundary on the southeast for a distance of one hundred and thirty miles, and the Wabash for more than a hundred miles. Both streams are navigable and are highly prized by that part of the state as commercial routes since railroad building is somewhat difficult through the east end of the Ozarks. The Ohio is bridged at Cairo and at Metropolis, the latter being one of the most substantial structures in the middle west.

The Illinois River courses through the west central part of the state from northeast near Chicago to the southwest part of the state near Alton. It is a picturesque stream and adds many a charm to the scenery in the region through which it flows. Not less interesting are several of its tributaries—the Sangamon, the raging Spoon, and the beautiful little Quiver River. To those who have once enjoyed the beautiful Fox River valley there is a lure which few other streams can surpass. Vermilion River has been magnified by the creation at its mouth of the beautiful Deer Park, a most wonderful display of the works of running water through geological formations.

The Illinois is of considerable value as a commercial route and the time is near, let us hope, that its usefulness may be increased by the completion of the scheme to make it a deep water way from Chicago to the Mississippi. Rock River has its origin in Wisconsin, and is an intruder but a very welcome one we are sure. It enters the state through Winnebago County and makes its way through Ogle, Lee, Whiteside, and Rock Island counties into the Mississippi River. Lorado Taft has given widespread interest to this region by his heroic statue of Black Hawk.

But the greatest water asset Illinois has is Lake Michigan—an inland sea of magnificent area. No words can describe this great body of water. To know it well one must cross its placid waters when the ripples only prevent one from observing his image in the clear water. Then within a short time try to ride its waves when a raging storm is crossing its wide expanse. To experience these two extremes will be a sufficient introduction to this inland sea.

Lake Michigan is only one of the largest groups of inland lakes in the world. Few people have entered into a complete understanding of the value of Lake Michigan when there shall be an untrammeled waterway from Chicago to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. We now see that so far as areas and waterways are concerned, Illinois has shown her right to stand in the front rank as a great state.

In the lie of the land, Illinois is very fortunate. The mass of elevation of the whole state is 600 feet above sea level. There are no extensive areas of swampy land and there is but one approach

toward mountains—the Ozarks. While there are extensive areas that are comparatively level, the gentle slope of the surface from the northeast toward the southwest is sufficient to give good drainage systems for all the state. A glance at the map and some attention to the direction of the streams will reveal the general slope of the surface.

There are no physical boundaries of subdivisions of the state. The physical structure is such that its surface is a complete unit with no physical sub-units. The length of the state is so great that very naturally the expressions, northern, and southern, and central Illinois were applied in the early days of the history of the state. These expressions have become a part of the geographical vocabulary.

There is a natural unity in the state as a whole which is probably emphasized by the fact that there are only two places where straight lines form the boundary; one from the Wabash River on the east to Lake Michigan, a distance of 225 miles, the meridian of Vincennes forms the boundary line. And from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River, the parallel of 42° 30′ forms the northern boundary for a distance of 150 miles. The remainder of the boundary is natural boundaries—Lake Michigan, the Mississippi River, the Ohio River, and the Wabash River. Few of the states of Europe have such marked physical boundary lines. If Illinois were a sovereign national power, the problem of national defense would be comparatively easy.

The state with as large a proportion of physical boundaries as Illinois has will develop a unity in the life of the people which would naturally be more difficult in a state whose boundary lines are parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude. The people become homogeneous; they speak the same language, their industrial activities, while not the same, are correlated about some interest or at least a few interests; the schools are quite uniformly of the same grade and of the same efficiency; there is a state patriotism which is a powerful force for good things for the state.

We thus see Illinois complying with all these advantages that come from the distinct boundary of the state, and from the fact that there are no marked physical barriers which separate one section from another. Foreigners who have come to Illinois and who have settled in communities and have purposed to maintain their native language, their social, religious, and even industrial customs which belonged in their native country, have found the task a very difficult one. Their children will learn the English language, they will marry into English speaking families, and even desert the religious services that are held in a foreign tongue and go to the services that are held in English. If Illinois were cut up into little geographical units as was Greece we should not find this tendency to unity in so marked a de-

gree as we find it in Illinois today. Fortunate is the state whose geographical features contribute to the maintenance of unity in all those lines which combined make Illinois a great state.

While we would emphasize the fact that the geographical agencies which we have discussed are valuable to establish and maintain a marked degree of unity in the life of the people, there is a danger which must be guarded against. Provincialism is a weakness which an American state should shun. "What a state gains in the way of protection by natural frontiers is partly offset by the danger of provincialism and internal stagnation." Spain is pointed out as a state whose marked boundary lines have unfitted her people but at the same time has made them narrow, selfish, and provincial. In England we find distinct physical boundary lines but her history has been the opposite of that of Spain. The salvation of England has come from her position as "Mistress of the Sea." She has all during her history maintained a strong navy and has supported a flourishing merchant marine, and thus has been able to defend herself against her enemies and at the same time to keep in touch with all the civilized countries of the earth.

While Illinois appears to be bound in with the greatest rivers of the world and by a great inland sea, at first glance we might fear that these would act as barriers, yet the contrary is true. As in England, instead of the ocean's being a barrier it has been the great highway which has kept her in touch with the great throbbing world, so in Illinois her rivers and her lake have served as a means of communication with the outside world. Illinois is a greater state by many times by reason of the presence at its door of Lake Michigan. This great body of water instead of being a hindrance to intercourse is a most powerful factor in the state's progress. The Mississippi and the Ohio are likewise useful in the prevention of stagnation. Through them we reach the sunny regions to the south, and near the mouth of the Father of Waters we find a seaport which enables Illinois to hold commercial intercourse with the countries of Europe. Again these great rivers have been bridged and that gives us easy access to our neighboring states.

The direction a state's intercourse takes with the outside world is a determining factor in the state's greatness. If the Mississippi should flow north and empty into Hudson's Bay, its usefulness would be greatly decreased. The frozen regions near its mouth, in that case, would have but a single product which would be desirable in Illinois. And if Lake Michigan's outlet should be toward the west, instead of toward the east, it could not serve the people as it does now. A westward outlet of the Great Lakes would throw us into direct contact with the civilization of the Orient and our own progress would be accordingly handicapped. We thus can easily see that Illinois

is exceedingly fortunate in its natural outlets. Through both of them we have direct communication with the very cradle of civilization, a people whose products we greatly desire, and one who demands our surpluses. As has been shown, it is this intercourse particularly with active minds in other regions which constitutes our safeguard against provincialism and stagnation.

Climate

It has been stated that climate is a determining factor in the greatness of a state. Heat, moisture, and light are the chief elements in climate. We know that latitude greatly affects the heat question. In equatorial regions the heat is too intense to permit those activities that result in the most rapid development of the resources of a given territory. In the polar regions the cold prevents vigorous growth in vegetables, and at the same time benumbs the intellectual faculties and the highest attainments for man are not reached. It is therefore in the middle latitudes that we may look for the best climatic conditions. Illinois is located approximately half way between the Equator and the North Pole.

The annual temperature for different parts of Illinois is as follows:

Illinois has her coldest days of the year in January or February. This is thirty to forty days after the sun has started toward the Equator on December 21st. The temperature then rises gradually till the latter part of July or first of August, when it reaches the hottest days. The extreme south end of the state has reached an extreme of cold of 20° below zero, while the north has experienced a temperature of 32° below zero. In the hot days of summer there is often a higher temperature at northern points than at southern points.

Illinois has the usual amount of rainfall that belongs to the interior middle latitudes. The annual rainfall for the extreme south end of the state is slightly more than forty-one inches. That for the northern portion of the state is thirty-six inches yearly. The average for all observations is thirty-six and one-half inches. In the south third of the state there is a precipitation of only 21.6 inches in the summer time—April to September, inclusive. This is slightly more than fifty per cent. of the total for the year. This scant fall of water in the months when the farmers are planting and cultivating their crops is greatly detrimental to the success of agriculture in "Egypt." The streams that carry large volumes of water between September and April present dry beds in August and the first part of September. In the north two-thirds of the state the annual rainfall is some less than in the south third, but sixty per cent. of the supply falls between April and September, inclusive. The north part of the state is therefore better adapted to farming than the south third.

Notwithstanding the fact that in Illinois nature is not lavish with its moisture, the state reports enormous yields of corn, wheat, oats, hay, fruits, vegetables. The rearing of all forms of live stock is an extensive business in many parts of the state.

Illinois lies in the path of what is called the revolving storms. These cyclonic storms originate in the region of the Gulf of Mexico and as they move toward the interior of the United States they travel in a sort of circular path. They come into the state from a general westerly direction. Often these cyclonic movements are so quiet we do not think of them as furnishing the basis for a more dreaded atmospheric movement, the tornado. Tornadoes seem to originate in the southeast quadrant of a cyclonic movement of large proportions. The circular movement of cyclones is contrary to the hands of the clock. The tornado also has a rotary motion from right to left. These tornadoes sweep across Illinois usually from the west or southwest, rarely from the northwest. They are observed as great black funnels reaching from an elevation of several hundred feet to the ground. If the lower end of the funnel reaches the ground the path of destruction is as wide as the diameter of the funnel where it reaches the surface. Nothing seems to be able to withstand the force of the rotating wind. Often, however, the tornado plays unexplainable pranks. A severe tornado crossed a portion of Christian County some years ago. A small frame house and a crude stable were in its path. Two horses were tied in two stalls side by side. One horse was lifted out of the stall and carried several yards away and dropped down uninjured; the other horse, securely tied, was quietly eating hay when the storm had abated. Some years ago these tornadoes became so common that farmers dug what they called a "cyclone cellar" for the protection of the family. In some cases school directors dug cellars on the school grounds large enough to hold the school.

It must not be thought that the people of Illinois are entirely helpless in the presence of these agents of destruction. The United States has organized such an efficient weather bureau, and people are generally becoming so well informed that much of the danger at least to human life may be averted. The state is divided into three weather bureau districts, and in each district there is an observation station. However, in the central division there is an observation station at Springfield and one at Peoria. The station in the Northern District is at Chicago, and for the Southern District at Cairo.

Within each of these divisions there are several local observation stations in charge of public-spirited citizens who make no charge for their services. These local observers take temperature, note direction of winds, observe the amount of rainfall, and give other information to the one in charge of the division observation station. Maps are made and distributed from the

division stations and telegrams and letters are sent to local observers and posted about postoffices and schools. In addition to what the Government is doing to spread information about weather conditions, the railroad companies are constantly on the lookout for information which they give to shippers and to their own employers who have charge of the shipment of live stock and perishable property.

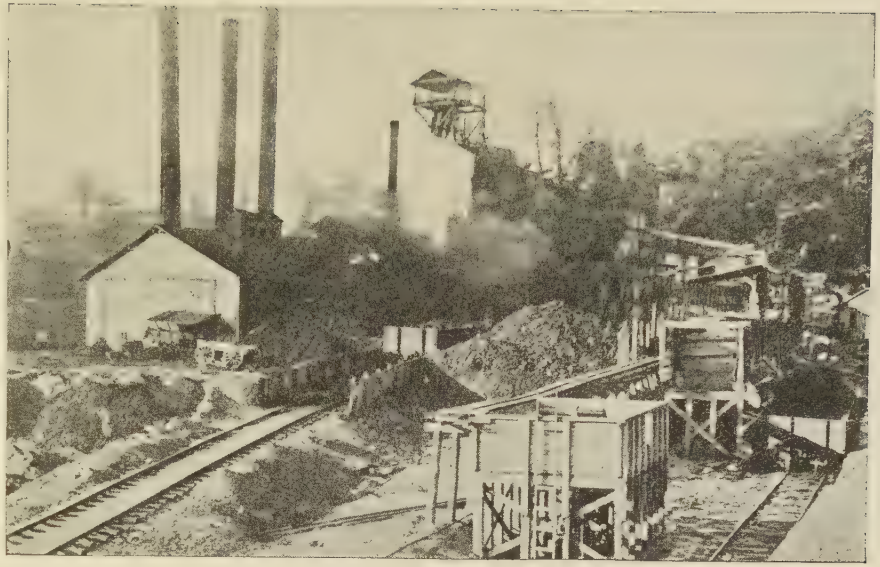
From this brief review of climatic conditions in Illinois—amount and distribution of rainfall, the varying temperatures, winds, and varying lengths of the days and nights, the prevailing winds, and the consequent adaptation of all industrial activities, especially farming, to these climatic agencies, we can easily see that nature has been lavish with her gifts, and everything conspires to the establishment of the fact that Illinois ranks as a great state.

Resources—Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal

It scarcely needs to be said that the natural resources of Illinois contribute very greatly to the position the state takes as one of the really great states in the Union. These resources are so abundant and so varied that their enumeration only is sufficient to convince us that in them the state has its foundation for its greatness.

A very fine quality of bituminous coal lies under about two-thirds of the surface of the state. It may be found in seams some ten or twelve in number at depths ranging from a few feet to several hundred feet. The seams vary in thickness from a few inches in some places to eight or nine feet in others. Probably the first coal mined, at least for commercial purposes, was in Jackson County, from the bluffs adjacent to the Big Muddy River, in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1835 the Legislature chartered the Mount Carbon Coal Company, and in 1836 the property was offered for sale by a Mr. Hall Neilson, who at that time lived in New York City, and from the description of the mine and the method of marketing the coal in New Orleans by means of barges which were floated on the Big Muddy and the Mississippi, the mines must have been in operation several years prior to the offer of the mine for sale in 1836. Governor Reynolds owned a mine near Belleville in 1837, and in order to get his coal to the Mississippi River, he built a railroad from Belleville to the Mississippi just below East St. Louis, a distance of about seven or eight miles. The old roadbed built by Governor Reynolds is still in use. The total production of coal in Illinois annually is nearly one hundred million tons, with a value at the mine of a trifle less than two dollars a ton.

Petroleum is the next most valuable resource. In 1917 the state produced about eighteen million barrels, with a value of nearly two dollars a barrel. The oil fields are found chiefly in



FAIRVIEW SPAR MINE, ROSICLARE

the southeastern part of the state, in the counties of Lawrence, Crawford, Clark and Cumberland. From these counties the crude oil is piped to Martinsville, in Clark County, where it joins a pipe line from Indiana which proceeds southwest along the old National Road through Greenup and Effingham to Vandalia. From this point the pipe line runs west nearly to Staunton, whence it turns southwest, and before reaching Edwardsville it runs west to Wood River, where there are immense storage tanks and an oil refinery. There is also a refinery in Lawrenceville, Lawrence County. Oil is found in other sections than in the counties named above, but in small quantities. The production has been decreasing since 1918. In that year the production was 33,686,238 barrels; in 1916 the production was 17,714,235.

The clay products are very valuable in this state. The clays are varied in their quality and this gives rise to a variety of clay products. The most important clay in the state is perhaps found in Union County, where a high-grade Kaolin is found. Kaolin is formed from the decomposition of feldspar. It is one of the two ingredients in Oriental porcelain. Kaolin occurs in China, Japan, Saxony, Cornwall, Limoges and in several places in the United States. The deposits in Union County are extensive and of a high grade.

Other grades of clay are found in Illinois. Fire clay for the manufacture of fire brick is very plentiful in the state, but is restricted to few areas. Clay suitable for drain tile and sewer pipe is found in Greene, McDonough, and Warren counties. Clay for pottery is found in the same counties and is extensively manufactured into the several varieties of household articles, crocks, jugs, jars and vases. Common building brick may be made from what we call the "common clay" which lies beneath the top soil. Within the past quarter of a century paving bricks are made from the shales which are found near enough the surface to make the procuring of this material inexpensive. Terra cotta is extensively manufactured from deposits found in the north part of the state.

Building stone in Illinois is found in inexhaustible quantities. The limestones are not probably of as high grade for building purposes as is found elsewhere, but great quantities are used. Much of the limestone that is quarried in recent years is crushed and used for road-making, concrete work, and for the correction of the acid condition of the soil. Cement is made from a certain kind of shale and limestone. Millions of barrels of cement are made in Illinois every year. There are but two states that make more cement than Illinois—Pennsylvania and Indiana. In these days of hard road building, it is very fortunate that Illinois is supplied with an unlimited quantity of material from which to manufacture cement. Along the Ohio River from Cairo to the

eastern part of Massac County are rich deposits of sand, gravel and clay, and a comglomerate is also found. This material is found to be excellent for road making and is so used in the counties along the Ohio.

Zinc and lead were once mined in large quantities in Jo Daviess County, and these interests are yet very important. These two metals together with silver are by-products in the production of fluor-spar in Hardin County. Fluor-spar is a new find in the West—at least the mines in Hardin County have not been open very long. It is said that Illinois produces about three-fourths of the fluor-spar produced in the United States.

Vegetable Resources

Among the vegetable resources which have contributed to the growth in greatness of Illinois, we may mention those growths found native, and those cultivated plants which have been transplanted from other regions.

Timber is a source of wealth to any state. The uses the world makes of timber are determined somewhat by the geographical location of the supply. If the supply is on the New England coast the use is the construction of ships. If in the warm states in the southern parts of the Mississippi basin, the timber is made into building material for residences, barns, and warehouses. In an early day in the central part of the Mississippi basin the timber was used for fuel. But wherever the supply may be found today, its distribution to the places where it is needed is an easy problem.

Although Illinois is called the "Prairie State," in its early history at least twenty-four per cent. of its surface was covered with forests. These forests lay chiefly in the south end of the state. "There was no county entirely without timber, but the real forests were confined to the southern portion of the state." Many counties in the forest-covered portion presented an unbroken area of timber. South of a line running east and west through the mouth of the Illinois River, there were no extensive prairies; there were prairie spots, but they would be entirely surrounded by timber. These forests were chiefly deciduous trees, rich in variety and of quality unsurpassed by any other state. The growth on the margins of the smaller streams, the areas between the forks of creeks, or wherever protected from forest fires, consisted chiefly of the different kinds of oaks.

The origin of the prairies is accounted for on the theory that the fires kept down the young trees. In 1880, when a careful survey was made of the timbered areas, it was found that only about fifteen per cent. of the state was at that time covered by timber growths. This loss in area of timbered territory is accounted for from the fact that for the past one hundred years there has been a constant marketing of the best timber, and the ground thus denuded of its good timber was prepared for the

raising of crops. The oldest settlers in the various parts of the state can remember when the sawmills were playing sad havoc with the fine oaks, hickorys, maples, walnuts, ash, and the less important woods. Not only so, but the oldtimers can remember when instead of marketing the valuable logs from a forty-acre field, it was customary to dispose of everything in the great log heaps. The "log rollings" were the social occasions for the men, and many a fine sawlog went up in smoke and down in ashes.

But the best timber is gone. There are few sawmills. It is no longer possible to get even a good "barn frame" from the growing timber. Some thirty-five years ago an Indiana firm sent axmen and teamsters with great log wagons into a county in West Central Illinois to buy up and ship all available logs of walnut, cherry, and hard maple. The farmers who happened to have these trees on the woodlands sold readily at a trifling price these valuable logs. It was found later that logs that were sold for two or three dollars apiece were worth from fifteen to twenty-five dollars when made into lumber.

The state is nearly four hundred miles from north to south. Within this distance of four hundred miles there grows as great a variety of trees as is found in twice the distance from north to south in the countries of Europe.

Exhibits of woods of the different forest trees found in Illinois were made in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1892, and in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1903. The quality of the woods and the variety were a great surprise to many intelligent citizens of the state. Three kinds of gum, fourteen kinds of oak, four kinds of hickory, two of locust, four of ash, five of maple, and four of elm were exhibited. In addition to these native growths there were shown nineteen genera of cultivated timber, including seventy-two species—making in all one hundred and fifty species of woods in the state at that time. A farm wagon, a part of the timber exhibit, was shown made of twenty-five different kinds of cultivated woods, all grown on one farm in Lee County. It was claimed that there were more cultivated woods in the state than were exhibited.

The oldest citizens tell of some of the methods of waste in the timber supply in the early days. Often in alluvial bottoms where the timber had reached considerable size, it was customary to clear out the underbrush and then with axes cut deep rings around the trunks of the large standing trees. Sometimes a belt of bark was removed from the standing trees a foot or so wide. This was done in the early spring so the tree would not put forth any leaves. The ground was broken and planted usually in corn. The sunshine was thus enabled to get to the ground and give strength to the growing crops. In the course of a year or so the thrifty farmer would cut down the dead trees, burn up the limbs

and make lumber of the logs or burn them in the log-heaps as described above.

As mentioned above, the "log-rolling" was the social event of the early spring days. The farmer who had no desire to make his large trees into lumber had no other way to dispose of them except to burn them. This was often done by building a large fire at the foot of the standing tree and burning the tree as it stood. Often the tree would burn up entirely. Or he would cut his trees down, cut the body into lengths of twelve to sixteen feet and thus prepare for his social gathering. Invitations would be sent to the neighbors to come on a certain day. At such a time the women would also be invited to a quilting or carpet tacking at the home where the log-rolling was to occur. The host prepared "hand spikes" for use in carrying the logs. A log sixteen feet long would be carried by eight men—four on each side. The log pile was made of ten to fourteen logs. The fire was built on top of the logs in the middle part and fed with smaller fuel until the log pile was well lighted. The log pile would then burn and was always interesting to watch and to see how successfully the pile was burned up. This seems to us to have been a wanton waste of valuable timber.

The great crops of prairie grass which covered all the open land was a source of great profit to the early pioneers. This grass was tender, juicy, and easily obtained. It was a free pasture for all farmers who lived near to the edge of the woods. This prairie grass was often cut in the summer and cured for roughage for the winter. Even now, on the markets of Chicago and St. Louis, one may see baled prairie hay. It is shipped into these cities from some of the Western states. If the prairie was the source of the food for cattle and horses, so was the woods the source of food for the hogs. The early settlers in Illinois settled in the wooded part because there was an abundance of mast for their hogs. The oak, beech, hickory, pecan and chestnut in the forest were loaded with the fruit of the summer's growth. In the late fall or early winter these trees began to drop their rich nuts to the ground. The hogs, which had lived through the summer on grasses, buds, and roots, began in the late fall to fatten on the rich masts of the forests. Much of the farmer's meat was derived from the hogs whose early food through the fall and winter had been the nuts and acorns from the forest trees.

Although the natural forested area of Illinois has dropped from 25 to 17 per cent within the past one hundred years, it is said there is as much leafage area now as there was one hundred years ago. If this is true, it can be accounted for on the theory that tree planting throughout the state has preserved the leafage area. Most of the states in the Middle West are giving more or

less attention to the forestation of their lands. Illinois has done little along this line. The farmers and villagers have given attention to the planting of trees and to the preservation of the trees, but there has been a lack of interest in these matters. However, we have an annual Arbor Day and Bird Day, and probably good influences are at work that will result in great good.

Animal Resources

When the first English speaking people came into this Western country there was an abundance of animal life in the forests and on the prairies. True, there was not much "big game," but the game that was here served a very good purpose. They made up a share of the food products and to some extent the clothing. Dr. Robert W. Patterson, in an address before the Chicago Historical Society in 1880 on early life in Southern Illinois, says "There was, however, a considerable proportion of the more stable population who, at an early day, like the genuine frontiersmen, devoted themselves a great part of the time to the hunting of wild game, hunting, trapping, and fishing. There were inducements of this kind of life, when the country was new. For deer, bears, turkeys, grouse or prairie chickens, and other fowl, were abundant in the woods and prairies, and, at first, even elk and buffaloes were numerous, and bees were found in all the forests. Bears were depended upon by many in the less settled regions for salt meat, instead of pork, until these animals, in a few years, disappeared from the country." Doctor Patterson lived in Illinois in 1822 and knew the conditions several years prior to that date. He further says that hunting parties in the hilly country of the Ozarks would kill as many as forty bears in a single day.

Much of the wild game has disappeared. There are few or no wild turkeys; prairie chickens are to be seen here and there, though rarely. Foxes are very scarce, likewise wolves; but several species of fur-bearing animals are to be found along the rivers and creeks. The state has taken steps to preserve the early animal life. Bird farms are supported by appropriations from the state treasury. On these bird preserves not only are native birds cared for, but birds are brought from other regions and acclimated to Illinois.

Not only were the land animals and birds of great value in Illinois from the earliest days, but perhaps no state could surpass Illinois in the value of the fishes of our streams and lakes. The Natural History Department of the state has collected a great many statistics relative to the fish supply in this state. This department has classified the fish according to their marketable value into four classes. In the first class these fishes are placed —white fish, Great Lake trout, blue cat, channel-cat, mud-cat,

common pike, white croppie, blue gill, small-mouthed black bass, large-mouthed black bass, wall-eyed pike. The Illinois River is particularly noted as one of the finest fishing rivers in the Mississippi region. The value of the fish taken from the Illinois River exceeds that of all the other streams of the state combined, including the Mississippi River and Lake Michigan.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS

THE ALGONQUINS—THE ILLINOIS CONFEDERATION—INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS, WAR, HUNTING, THE FAMILY, SELFISHNESS, THE TRIBE, RELIGION, SOCIAL LIFE, BURIAL OF THE DEAD, SOME VIRTUES.

The Indians found in the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi basins when the white people began to explore, and later to settle these basins, were known as the Algonquins. They comprised several powerful tribes among which were the Illinois Indians. The Algonquins seemed to have another powerful confederation of Indians completely surrounded. These were the Iroquois whose home was in the present state of New York. When the French came up the St. Lawrence they soon came into the territory of the Algonquins. As they went west along the basin of the Great Lakes they were still in the country of these same people. When they passed over into the basin of the Mississippi they were still within the country occupied by the Algonquins. When therefore Marquette and Joliet came to the Illinois country both on their downward trip toward the mouth of the Mississippi and on their return journey up the Illinois River, they were still within territory claimed and occupied by a people who by the test of language were Algonquins.

This great body of North American savages comprised a dozen or more subordinate tribes and confederacies, who were scattered from the mouth of the St. Lawrence along the lakes and down the Mississippi. There were no great differences among these Algonquin tribes. The Indians who occupied the present State of Illinois were known as the Illini—real men. But it may be assumed that this high sounding and high meaning title might as appropriately have been applied to many another group of red savages. Indians like white people are very much alike, and many characteristics that might be enumerated as belonging to the Indians of one tribe might as properly be applied to Indians of another tribe.

THE ALGONQUINS

They were truly the "children of nature." Theirs was an outdoor life. They obtained their food, chiefly by fishing, and hunting, and the chase. They cultivated the soil in many cases and lived in a poorly organized community life. In some cases they had established somewhat permanent homes, buried their dead in well arranged cemeteries and cultivated the soil. They

were crafty, as hunters, herdsmen, and fishermen usually are. They were vindictive as uncultured and selfish people are found to be. They were physically strong as their life made them. They were indolent as to those activities that would lead to a better domestic life. They had wonderful powers of endurance. They were sometimes generous, always treacherous, and wholly unappreciative. They knew the woods, the streams, and the wild life. They had made some progress in the skilled arts. They worked in silver, in wool, in leather, and exhibited a sense of color which enabled them to add a touch of savagery to their bodies when on the war path. They preserved no reliable traditions. They falsified unblushingly when it was to their interest to do so. The administering of torture was an exact science with them, and they seldom returned good for evil. Those who had much to do with them in the early days believed that a good Indian was always a dead Indian.

- Indians of Central North America
  - Huron-Iroquois
    - Hurons
    - Senecas
    - Cayugas
    - Onondagas
    - Oneidas
    - Mohawks
    - Tuscaroras
    - Knisteneaus
  - Algonquins
    - Athascas
    - Ottawas
    - Chippewas
    - Sacs and Foxes
    - Menomonees
    - Miamis
    - Pottawatomies
    - Kickapoos
    - Illinois
    - Shawnees
    - Powhatans
    - Corees
    - Nantichokes
    - Leni-Lenapes
    - Mohegans
    - New England Indians
    - Abenakes
    - Susquehamock
    - Mannahoacks
    - Monocans

The Illini whom Marquette and Joliet found within the limits of the present State of Illinois was a sort of confederation of five somewhat distinct peoples about 12,000 in number. They

were known as the Kaskaskias, the Cahokias, Michigamies, Tamaroas and Peorias. These Illinois Indians are thought to have come from the west and to have halted in Illinois near Lake Michigan, while the kindred tribe, the Miamis, passed on into Indiana and another, the Delaware, passed beyond the Alleghanies and settled on the Delaware River. There were other tribes in addition to the Illini in the limits of the present state when the French first visited the territory. The Sacs and Foxes were in the northwest corner of Illinois. The Kickapoos first lived near the south end of Lake Michigan, and later in the region of the Sangamon and the Mackinaw rivers. In later years they lived near the mouth of the Wabash River. The Piankeshaws were located on the middle and lower courses of the Wabash River. The Pottawatomies lived at first in the northwest corner of Indiana but afterwards moved around the end of the lake and settled near Chicago. Other tribes lived near the present limits of the state and more or less influenced the life of the early pioneers.

It must not be thought that Illinois history has to do with all or very many of the Indians of North America. But it has been said, Indians were Indians and it mattered little what tribe the white people had to do with, they would always wish it had been another tribe. It is true that some tribes, by reason probably of their relation to the white people, were more humane than other tribes. The Pottawatomies were the savages who carried out the Fort Dearborn massacre in 1812. The Kickapoos too were guilty of indescribable savagery. Often these horrible acts of vengeance by a group of Indians were wrought upon another group of Indians. In general when you have described the activities of any one tribe you have given a pretty fair picture of any other tribe.

It should be said that the Iroquois and the Canadian tribes of the Algonquins were very bitter enemies, and since the Illinois Indians were Algonquins, there was often the deadliest warfare between the Illini and the Iroquois.

The Illinois Confederation

At the coming of the French into the "Illinois Country," there were several Algonquin groups of Indians within the territory of the present state of Illinois. These were: The Illinois Confederation consisting of five families—the Kaskaskias, the Cahokias, Tamaroas, Michigamies, and Peorias. These were the Illini, the red men of whom Marquette had heard much before he started with Joliet to explore the territory of the Mississippi. In addition to the Illinois Confederation there were the Piankeshaws, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Winnebagoes, Kickapoos, and the Sacs and Foxes. In addition to these there were

tribes that moved about and were at times temporarily settled in Illinois.

It will be sufficient to give briefly a sketch of each tribe and locate eash one within the limits of the state. Let us begin with the Illinois Confederation. The Kaskaskia Indians came from the far west and settled near Lake Michigan. From here they were driven beyond the Mississippi by their enemy, the Iroquois. They settled on the west side of the upper Mississippi and made frequent visits to the mission of St. Esprit near the head of Lake Superior. Father Marquette records these visits as early as 1670. Shortly after this date they moved back into the Illinois country and settled on the Illinois River in the vicinity of Utica, seven miles below Ottawa. Here they built a village of lodges. But there were other villages, for when Marquette founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, in 1675, there were present a concourse of several thousand Indians. In 1700 the Kaskaskia Indians moved down the Illinois River and passing on down the Mississippi came to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River. Here they stopped, built a village which took the name Kaskaskia. The tribe remained here a century or more when they were put on a reservation on the Big Muddy River from which they were removed to the Indian Territory shortly before the Civil War.

The Cahokias lived in Illinois just opposite the present city of St. Louis. They were not a large body but they had a very flourishing village at that place. This Indian village became the county seat of the first county organized within the limits of Illinois. These Indians gradually decreased in numbers, and they eventually joined the Kaskaskias.

The Michigamies were first located on Lake Michigan and gave their name to that lake. The fierce Iroquois eventually drove them south where they lived near the mouth of the Okaw River. The tragic story of the death of the Michigamies on starved rock may or may not be true, but the tribe was annihilated by their enemies from the north.

The Tamaroas lived in the present county of St. Clair, but earlier lived on the upper Illinois. They were closely associated with the Cahokia Indians. About 1680 they were attacked by the Iroquois and 700 of their men, women and children were killed or carried away into captivity. The final struggle came between the Tamaroas and the Shawnees about the year 1800 in a battle of extermination. This battle was fought near where the Illinois Central Railroad crosses the Big Muddy River, seventy miles north of Cairo.

The Peorias were found by Marquette and Joliet, when they returned from their trip down the Mississippi, near the present city of Peoria on the Illinois River. This tribe was never an

important division of the Illini Confederation. They lived much in dread of invasions from the Iroquois Indians. They were driven to the south and joined the Kaskaskias sometime about the last part of the eighteenth century.

In addition to these five subdivisions of the Illinois Indians, there lived in the northwest part of the present state near the mouth of Rock River, the Sacs and Foxes. These Indians were living near the southern extremity of Green Bay as early as 1666. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they moved into northern Illinois and became enemies of the Indians of the Illinois Confederation. The Sacs and Foxes, together with the Kaskaskias, were very dangerous, both to the French and to other tribes. The French efforts at flattery were unavailing and they rejected all overtures of friendship offered by the French. This double tribe lived in Wisconsin and made forays into the Illinois country from the latter part of the seventeenth century till 1781 when they became permanently settled at the mouth of Rock River. Here they attained a rather marked stage of progress, having farms, homes, a cemetery, and some domesticated animals. We shall hear more of them when we come into the statehood period of Illinois.

The Winnebagoes were a western branch of the Algonquins. They were in the region of Green Bay as early as 1640. Here the French missionaries found them in 1647. They were a somewhat manly group, brave but good natured. They are described as an uncouth people, their language a deep gutteral and very difficult to learn. In 1766 they were found farther south in Wisconsin on Fox River. From here they moved west and made Rock River their home. The present county of Winnebago is supposed to be their early home. They were allies of the French and joined Pontiac in his rebellion. Later they were won over to the side of the British and in the War of 1812 they were bitter enemies of the Americans. They fought against Colonel Crogan at Mackinaw, and against Colonel Dudley on the Maumee; and against General Winchester at the Battle of the Raisin. They lived partly in southern Wisconsin and partly in Illinois. We shall hear of them again.

The Kickapoos were first known around the south end of Lake Michigan. They moved south and lived for several years on the eastern side of the state and in the western part of Indiana. They were known as the "Thieving Kickapoos." They were a strong factor in the Battle of Tippecanoe. They lived on the upper courses of the Sangamon and the Mackinaw and established a village known as the "Grand Kickapoo Village." This village was due east of Peoria—about fifty miles—near the present city of Pontiac in Livingston county. The Kickapoos were always ready to join with any other Indians in an attack upon the whites. In 1828 Peter B. Porter of the War Depart-

ment, Washington, D. C., notified Governor Ninian Edwards that all the Indians in Illinois were preparing to move west "except the band of the Kickapoo Prophet—and it is hoped that no further cause of dissatisfaction will arise requiring force to compel the removal of this fragment at an early day."

The Mascoutins were an unimportant group of Indians who roamed over the east central part of Illinois and in connection with the Kickapoos were a great menace to the earliest settlers. They in connection with the Kickapoos captured Colonel Crogan when he came down the Ohio in 1763 to receive the surrender of the Illinois country from the French.

The Piankeshaws occupied the lower valley of the Wabash and westward to the central part of the state. They earlier lived near Green Bay, and Father Allouez speaks very highly of them—particularly of their chief, about 1670. They were active participants in the Pontiac conspiracy, and earlier were a member of LaSalle's colony at Fort St. Louis. Little Turtle was a warrior of this tribe and he won great honor for himself among the Indians as he led his warriors in the defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair on the Miami, November 4, 1791. They were transferred to the Indian territory where they counted only about one hundred people in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Pottawatomies lived at the south end of Lake Michigan but mostly on the Indiana side. They were a blood thirsty tribe. It is said that the missionaries could make no headway toward converting them to the Catholic faith. About the beginning of the nineteenth century they moved over on the west side of Lake Michigan and were living there when the War of 1812 began. It may have been that the influence of the British agents was responsible, but they carried out the greatest and most unprovoked massacre—that of the soldiers from Fort Dearborn in 1812, that ever occurred here in the west. They eventually moved into the southwest where they numbered 1500 people in the last century.

Indian Characteristics, War

The most common characteristic of all Indians at all times was the tendency to make war. War was the common occupation among the Indians long before the whites came. The Europeans never introduced war among the races of Red men. They seem always to have been familiar with war. It has been said that for the old Indian his greatest comfort in his old age was to look back on a busy life of warlike activity. To the young brave it was his highest ambition to see himself a great warrior. It can not be denied that they had qualities of a good warrior, not to say of a good soldier. They were brave, self-sacrificing, and calculating. They were strategists and estimated

the efficiency of their enemy with accuracy. They were good leaders. When one of their number was selected to lead, there was no stabbing in the back, no jealousies, no undermining. They had long memories on wrongs they had suffered, and forgot with ease the kindnesses of their foe. Their service in battle was voluntary and without pay except the loot which they might gather from their victories. The method of raising a volunteer army has been described as follows:

"The leader who attempted to raise a volunteer band for war purposes, must have previously distinguished himself in the chase, in the killing of big game, or in previous battle. He first appealed to the patriotism and courage of the warriors, and was careful to intimate that the Great Spirit had made known to him in dreams the success of his enterprise. Then painted with vermilion to symbolize blood, he commenced the war dance. This performance expressed in pantomime the varied incidents of a successful campaign. The braves entering on the war-path, the posting of sentinels to avoid surprise, the advance into the enemy's country, the formation of ambuscades to strike the unwary foe, the strife and carnage of battle, the writhing victim sinking under the blow of the war-club, the retreat of the enemy, the scalping of the slain, the feasting of the vultures on the putrid bodies, the triumphant return of the war party to their village, and the torturing of prisoners, were all portrayed with the vividness and the vehemence of actual warfare.

"As this pantomime proceeded the onlookers became more and more interested and warrior after warrior wishing to volunteer for the expedition, rapidly fell into the dance with the leader. Each one, keeping time with the beat of the drum, sped in mazy circles around a common center, until with increased members the whole, in movement and uproar, resembled the whirlwind. The several actors taxed their muscular energies to the utmost endurance, stamping the ground with great fury, throwing their bodies into different attitudes of combat, distorting their faces with the frenzy of demons, and uttering the war-cry with the frightful shriek of madmen. These hideous orgies were a fitting prelude to the premeditated carnage. If a young warrior participated in the dance, it was incumbent upon him to enlist in the war and he could not afterwards honorably withdraw."

Frances Parkman says in The Conspiracy of Pontiac, in describing the war-spirit of the Iroquois, "With fasting and praying, and consulting dreams and omens; with invoking the war-god, and dancing the war-dance, the warriors sought to insure the triumph of their arms; and then, their rites concluded, they began their stealthy progress through the devious pathways of the forest.—And now as evening closed, a shrill, wild cry,

pealing from afar, over the darkening forest, proclaimed the return of the victorious warriors. The village was alive with sudden commotion; and snatching sticks and stones, knives and hatchets, men, women, and children, yelling like fiends let loose, swarmed out of the narrow portal, to visit upon the captives a foretaste of the deadlier torture in store for them. The black arches of the forest glowed with the fires of death; and with brandished torch and firebrand the frenzied multitude closed around their victim."

Hunting

Hunting was an activity which all Indians engaged in. There were different motives, perhaps, but an important one was to obtain food. The Indian lived largely upon the food to be obtained from the forests and prairies. It is said by some

PICTOGRAPH FOUND ON BLUFFS OF THE ILLINOIS RIVER

writers that the Indians did not take kindly to fish as a food. But the meat of the deer, buffalo, bear, and of smaller game, together with all the game birds of forest and waters, made up a large percent. of the daily food. The meat of wild animals was supplemented by a liberal quantity of grains, beans, and other vegetables.

Before the coming of the white man, the chief weapon with which to procure food was the bow and arrow. Trapping of game and birds was a common method of securing food. The spear was used in catching fish. The dead fall was a trap in which one end of a heavy log was held up by a system of triggers, and the animal lured under it by some bait which was far enough under the log, that when the trap was sprung the animal was securely held by the heavy log. This form of taking game was used when the purpose was to obtain the fur bearing hides of animals.

So much stress was put upon the skillful use of the bow and arrow, that the boys early began the practice of shooting with

their weapons. The use of the bow and arrow had much to do in developing the arms and body of the young men. It is said that the experienced hunter could drive the arrow entirely through the body of a buffalo. When the white man taught the Indians the use of firearms it was fully expected that they would displace the use of the bow and arrow, but this theory was not alltogether found true. Many Indians carried the bow and quiver in preference to the gun on hunting excursions.

Hunting was not so much an individual thing as it was a community affair, particularly with those tribes that gave some intelligent attention to the raising of corn, squashes, beans and other agricultural products. The summer was given over to a sort of languid life; the women doing whatever cultivation was required to mature the crops. When winter came on, by a sort of common consent, the whole tribe made preparation for the annual hunt. On these annual hunts, the tribe selected some appropriate locality close to the hunting grounds where the winter camp could be pitched. From this winter camp the hunters went forth singly or in small groups. The experienced hunter was acquainted with all the devices for deceiving the game, and considered that as much glory should come to the great hunter as should come to the great warrior.

The carcass of the animals taken in these winter hunts was prepared for the use of the families in the coming spring and summer. This was done by drying and smoking or by the use of salt. The skins of the animals could be used for the fur or the pelts could be dressed for clothing, moccasins or thongs. When the tribesmen returned to their summer homes they brought a large quantity of cured meats, and hides. It was through the contact of the Indian with the various phases of nature that they acquired such perfection in the work of their physical senses. Their sight was unerring, they heard with the keenness of the wild animals, they interpreted every movement, sound, and object with the unerring correctness.

The Family

The family and tribal organization did not differ materially from that of primitive peoples in European countries. The family was in no sense an ideal institution. There was what we understand as a marriage relation. The hunter-warrior-brave had his wife, often two or three, who was the mother of his children. It has been said by those who knew Indian life pretty well that there was no union of affection between the brave and his wife. She was to all intents and purposes his slave who did his work and obeyed his commands. She was from an economic viewpoint, a beast of burden. She did almost all, if not all, of the work in raising crops, procuring and preparing the food and in moving from one place to another.

Selfishness

The Indian was essentially selfish. The brave pursued his own course and indulged his own fancy. He showed little or no sympathy with his wife, child, or parent. His wife received no help, encouragement, or sympathy from her husband-brave. His home was only a shelter. It was no place for the expression of love, interest, or helpfulness. There was no privacy in the wigwam or home, and no preparation to care for the young, the sick, or the helpless. Polygamy was an open shame in many tribes. The brave might dissolve the frail tie which bound one woman to him and contract another as frail which bound another woman to him. It has been shown by the laws among

INDIAN BUFFALO PAINTED ON A BLUFF IN JOHNSON COUNTY

them, governing the descent of the sachem's rights that no Indian brave had any assurance that the children which his wife bore were his own offspring. So uncertain was it that the sachem's title passed from the ruling brave to a sister's child, never to his wife's child.

The tribe was an enlarged family. When the family consisted of an old brave, his wife and their children, they adopted some sign or emblem which served as a distinction to separate them from other families. This sign was called a totem, and was usually an animal or a bird. When the totem was once established, the family grew by marriages with other families or by other methods. The marriage of one member of a family never could be consummated with another member of that same family. The marriage of the members of different families or clans naturally bound these different families and clans together and

thus large tribes were formed with subordinate units known as families or clans or often as tribes.

There was a head clansman known as sachem in some tribes and in others as chief. He got his position through inheritance through his mother in some cases, and in others by common consent because of his prowess in the chase or in battle. It is said too that the tribesmen desired a chief who could talk well and had persuasive powers. There were many Indian chiefs whose speeches have been preserved and when translated into our tongue are types of elegant English and of forceful argument.

The chief often called about him the principal members of the tribe, and thus constituted a council. There often sat in these councils, the very old men of the tribe—too old to go to war. The chief would often be a much younger man. It was considered the point of wisdom on the part of the chief to give heed to the advice and counsel of these old warriors. These council gatherings were conducted with great decorum. There was the greatest respect for the one who was giving advice or using his persuasive powers for or against a proposition. The Indian chief in council with his warriors and old men about him has often been the lure of the artist who wishes to portray the occasion of considering some great questions of state.

Religion

The Indian was a religious creature, we are sure. Their religion was a simple matter with them, but it was a universal characteristic. It has been said there were no infidels among the Indians. The general belief among the Indians was that there are many gods. That is they saw a god in the sun, moon, wind, storm, the ocean, and in fire, water, thunder and in the still small voice. At the same time they saw gods in the forces of nature, they also had one special manifestation of the Great Good Spirit. But for fear of the need of having to attribute evil doings to the Great Good Spirit, they created a Great Bad Spirit. They thus worked out a theology not at all different from some systems held by more highly civilized people today.

The Indians believed in a life after this life. It is not easy to know just what their religious notions were as to this matter dissociated from the influences of the missionaries. But we do know that one of the great ambitions was to go to the happy hunting grounds in the hereafter. This happy hunting ground was an idealized counterpart of the hunting grounds over which they had roamed while in this life.

Among most barbarous peoples there are priests who have perfected a rather complicated system of practices and beliefs to which the people must conform in order to gain the favor of the gods. But among the Indians in the central North Ameri-

can regions, there were no Indians found who had a priesthood separate and apart from the common people. And again there were no temples among the Algonquins and Iroquois. Among the Central American Indians however, there were temples of worship and systems of priesthoods.

Social Life

The social life of the Indians makes up an interesting chapter. As has been indicated previously, there was not among the Indians a very high type of home life. The wigwam or long-house was often occupied by two, three, and sometimes ten families. There was no privacy in such a domicile. There was no social intercourse—no talking between the members of the family—no family ties, no planning to make life more tolerable. The fire was built in the center of the hut and the smoke made its way out through an opening in the center above. The cooking was done over the open fire and was a very unsanitary process.

Intoxication was a common state of the brave when not in war or in the chase. It is stated that the Indians were quite familiar with intoxicating drinks before the coming of the whites, but the intoxicating beverages which the whites introduced among the savages were the ruin of many an Indian. Women seemed not to have been addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks.

Dancing was an innocent pastime which was universally indulged in. Of course there were different purposes in the dances. The war dance was for the purpose of working up an interest in an attack upon an enemy and was accompanied with violent physical and mental exertion. In all dances there was some form of music. In some instances this rhythmic noise was produced by the ones who were dancing; often the onlookers furnished the music.

Burial of the Dead

The burial of the dead was a solemn ceremony; and was much the same in all tribes. They often dug graves and placing sticks or grass in the bottom, laid the dead therein and covered it over with skins. The grave was then filled with earth and a mound made much as we do today. In some cases the corpse was placed in a sitting posture. The body was often wrapped in skins and placed on a scaffold some feet above the ground. In this way the body was placed beyond the reach of prowling dogs and wolves. It was customary to bury with the dead body the personal belongings of the deceased. The dead were not forgotten as often the friends visited the grave and in some cases kept fires burning on or near the grave for several days. In parts of the country where slabs of stone were plentiful the grave was lined with flat stones, sides and bottom. The body was placed in this vault and large flat stones were laid over the

grave and covered with earth. Such cists have been found near Equality in Gallatin County. In Missouri, bodies of men, women, and children have been found enclosed in large earthen pans of the size of small bath tubs which were used in the evaporation of salt water. The body was placed in one of these vessels and another vessel would be inverted over the first and the two cemented together with some form of pitch. These earthenware coffins were placed in excavations in the earth and covered over.

Some Virtues

All the truth about the Indians would include the fact that many of these red men had some qualities which the white man ought to respect. Their chiefs often expressed the natural love their people had for the rivers, plains and woods; for the privilege of fishing, hunting and living where nature beckoned them to come and to stay. They loved their home, the solitude of the forest, the graves of their dead. It was difficult for the Indians to think of the white as any other than trespassers on lands which they thought their own. If we are to believe the stories which have come down to us from the not very distant past, we must believe that individuals of this fast disappearing race possessed remarkable powers of argument and beautiful gifts of oratory. The speeches made by Pontiac Little Turtle, Red Jacket, Tecumseh, Chief Logan, Black Hawk and others are models of consecutive thought and examples of polished expression. One writer has said, "Cruel and implacable as the savages of North America were, it would be doing them great injustice to say, that instances of extraordinary frinedship, of fidelity, kindness and forbearance were unknown".

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH IN CANADA

Relation of Illinois to Canada—America in Three Parcels—English and French Contrasted—Champlain, Father of New France—Pushing Into the Interior—First Bishops in New France—The Congress of Sault Ste. Marie.

Illinois, physically considered, is a portion of the great Mississippi basin; the Mississippi basin is an integral part of the continent of North American. The people who have lived in Illinois sustained a vital relation to the people who lived in the Mississippi basin, and the people who lived in the Mississippi basin were closely related to the people who lived on the continent of North America. The history of the people who have lived in Illinois is a portion only of the history of the people who have lived and wrought in the great basin of the Father of Waters. And the history of this basin is only a portion of that of the United States, and that only a part of the history of the whole of North America.

Relation of Illinois to Canada

But this history of North America involved three great European nations, England, Spain, and France. The history of the English in America is more intimately connected with the history of the French in America than with the Spanish in America.

History is a causal science having to do with the activities of the human race living in organized society. "No man liveth to himself alone," and no people liveth to themselves alone. Therefore human society is the result of all the influences that have been operating upon it. Human society therefore, being a complex of many interacting agents can never be understood perfectly until each influencing agent is thoroughly comprehended in its action upon the social whole.

The history of any unit of society is what it is because of the influence of the units about it. The history of the life of the early Virginia colonists was influenced by the Indians all about them. The Dutch of New York had been weakened as Dutchmen by the nearness of New Haven and the towns on the Connecticut River. The old Puritan standards which were planted in Massachusetts and Connecticut in the first half of the seventeenth century have all but disappeared before the attack of the commercial spirit of the last century. The people who have

lived on the border of the Latin-American countries have had a different course from what they would have had if their neighbors had been Anglo-Saxons. In a similar way we may show that the colonies that bordered the French in Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were greatly affected by the nearness of the Gallic spirit.

And while we propose to write the history of Illinois, it can be done well only when we take into consideration the effect directly and indirectly of the presence of the French not only in Canada, but in the very limits of the state itself. The life of the people of Illinois was not so greatly affected by the Spanish to the west and south of us, but they had their influence upon us, we may be sure.

America in Three Parcels

When fate parceled out the continent of North America to the Europeans she very generously gave the English the most valuable section, reaching north and south from the 32° of north latitude to the 49th parallel. An observing reader of history once remarked that the great men of the earth were born and reared in the vicinity of the 40th parallel of north lattitude. The great cities of the earth, he said, were located near this parallel. The 40th parallel runs through the middle of this great belt which was apparently set apart for the English people.

The Spanish people were assigned a country which in many ways was well adapted to them—the warm moist country to the south of the English claim. Here they have been for four centuries.

The cold regions to the north of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence were set aside for a very bright, active and resourceful people. The French were better able to contend with the cold of the Canadian winters than the Spanish were with the heat of the southern summers. Their whole life was so organized, at least in the new world, that they did not need a rich soil in a warm country.

To the English was left the choicest part of the continent, neither too hot nor too cold. In this moderate climate, were found all the needful resources of a great people—soil, forests, prairies, coal, iron, lead, copper, oil, rivers, lakes and ocean.

English and French Contrasted

One contrast: "When we contrast the heroic ardor of the French voyageurs, soldiers and priests who opened up the Great West to the vision of men, with the apathy of the English colonists, although our judgment approves the final issue, we can but agree with Parkman when he says France's pretenses were moderate (claims to territory) and reasonable compared with those of England." (Parkman: Montcalm and Wolfe, I, 124, 125.) Hinsdale, The Old Northwest, p. 56.

Parkman in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac" has made a striking contrast between the French colonists of Canada and the English settlers of the old thirteen colonies," Canada, the offspring of the Church and State, nursed from infancy in the lap of power, its puny strength fed with artificial stimulants, its movements guided by rule and discipline, its limbs trained to martial exercise, languished, in spite of all, from lack of vital sap and energy. The colonies of England, outcast and neglected, but strong in native rigor and self-confiding courage, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striving, and developed the rugged proportions and unwieldly strength of a youthful giant." Parkman shows the basic difference between the two peoples: "Feudalism stood arrayed against Democracy; Papery against Protestantism; the sword against the ploughshare. If we search the world for the sharpest contrasts to the spiritual and temporal vassalage of Canada, we shall find it among her immediate neighbors, the Puritans of New England, where the spirit of non-conformity sublimed to a fiery essence, and where the love of liberty and the hatred of power burned with sevenfold heat."

The English settlers became attached to the soil; they loved the scenes of their labors; they built homes, and joined with nature in making the earth more beautiful. They were sober, earnest, thoughtful. They established schools, colleges, churches, and built permanent structures both temporal and spiritual. There was a high type of family relationships. The father dwelt with his wife and children in a home which was, the church excepted, the most sacred place on earth. They enjoyed a rare and sacred privilege of self-government. They made their own laws, selected the officials to execute those laws, and punished the offenders.

In New France, there were few homes in the Anglo-Saxon sense. There was no attachment to a place of residence for there was a roving spirit which prevented residence of sufficient length of time for attachments to become fixed. There was no love of the soil as in the English colonies. The Frenchman was in no real sense an agriculturist. He had few domestic animals, and gave little of his time to the furthering of a genuine domestic life.

The lure of the forests and their rich fur bearing animals took the Frenchman into the midst of the woods, where in its solitude he was much better satisfied than he was in the busy cities and villages. The fur traders became almost a separate class of people, "more akin to the Indians than to the white men." Hence the interest which the French colonists had in agricultural pursuits was at a very low ebb. "Freely rooted in the soil, she thrust out branches which overshadowed half of America; a magnificent object to the eye, but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust."

The zeal of the French in Canada for the Catholic Church is without a parallel in New World history. Champlain said, "The saving of a soul is worth more than the conquest of an empire." Not only were the priests interested in the saving of the Indian's soul, but the rank and file of the people in Canada were "filled with the zeal of proselytism."

But the work of the tradesmen, and the work of the priests could not have prospered had it not been for the strong hand of the government. The soldier was early on the ground for the conquest of the territory for the King of France. This was the dream of those who furnished the strong hand of miltary power. There were thus three great ideas which gave life and spirit to the conquest of New France. This was the conquest of the territory in the name of Christ. The cross must be planted in every village and the natives must be rescued from ruin of body and soul by the messengers of the Gospel. In somewhat unfavorable prominence was the idea of worldly gain, the fur trade was a never ending source of wealth to those who gave their time and energy to the work of collecting and shipping the rich furs to the old world. Lastly there was the idea of empire. The flag of France must float from every trading post. It must be planted by the side of the cross in every mission station.

These three ideas were the fundamental moving forces in the conquest of the region along the St. Lawrence, around the Great Lakes, and down the Father of Waters. It is not easy to say whether there was any particular order in which these forces moved to the conquest of the new regions. In most instances it may be shown that the priests were in the van. They opened the way by reason of their evident unselfish interest in the natives. But they were not far in advance of the fur trader who came with the attractive wares of the European markets. In the story of Marquette and Joliet we have a union of two ideas, that of the saving of souls and of establishing dominion. The government was somewhat conservative in its activities and was probably lost on the field of conquest. But all of these agencies were supplementary one to the other.

Champlain, Father of New France.

As early as 1504 French fishermen were visiting the banks of Newfoundland and the coasts at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. These early visitors to the New World were from the quaint corner of France called Brittany. Cape Breton Island which guards the entrance to the St. Lawrence got its name from these Breton fishermen. In 1506. Denys, a citizen of Honfleur, a small port at the mouth of the Seine, drew for the King, Francis I, a map of the mouth of the St. Lawrence and all the adjacent islands and coasts. The Normans also became inter-

ested in the fisheries and soon there was a beaten path between the fishing ports of Northwestern France and the banks of Newfoundland.

In 1524 Verrazano, an Italian, was employed by the French King to explore the northern coasts of the New World since the Spaniards were establishing themselves along the southern coast of the new continent. This mariner visited the regions in and about Nova Scotia and was received kindly by the natives. In his report to the King the suggestion was made of the possibility of finding a route through the continent to China. Upon the explorations of Verrazano, the King based his claim to the ownership of the northern parts of the New World. As early as 1527 an English sea captain found in one of the harbors of Newfoundland, eleven Norman vessels and one Breton vessel, all engaged in the work of taking fish on the Newfoundland banks.

In 1534 the French King selected one James Cartier, a celebrated French navigator, to explore the St. Lawrence River. He reached Newfoundland after a voyage of twenty days and raised there the cross and the banner of France. He sailed up the St. Lawrence, but not being prepared to winter here, he returned to France. His report to the King was intensely interesting to that monarch and he immediately named his new possession New France. In the following year Cartier again sailed up the St. Lawrence, which he named after that distinguished martyr, as far as where Montreal is now located. Here he held a conference with the Indians, erected a cross and returned to his ships, where he spent the winter. During the winter, which was very severe, he lost twenty-five of his men who died of scurvy, a malady unknown in Europe, it is said.

France was not interested in colonizing the St. Lawrence region, for so far no reports had been made of gold and silver in that region, and nothing further was done till 1541, when Cartier returned under the patronage of Lord of Roberval. Cartier settled a small colony at what is now Quebec, where they spent the winter of 1541-42. In the spring of 1542 Lord Roberval arrived with more colonists, but he and Cartier disagreed about the colonizing plans and Cartier returned secretly to France in the summer of 1542. Roverval wintered at Quebec and returned to France with all the colonists in the spring of 1543.

The permanent occupation of New France awaited the coming of a master mind, the renowned Samuel de Champlain, a man of great ability. "Clever in his preparations, cautious in all his movements, indefatigable in his efforts, untiring in his exertions, and fearless of danger." Champlain began his work in New France in 1603 and for four years he was in a subordinate position. But in 1608 he came in command of two ships

under the patronage of De Monts who held a patent from the French King granting him the monopoly of the fur trade in the St. Lawrence region and authorized him to make permanent settlements.

Champlain reached the present site of Quebec and erected a fort near where Cartier had wintered in 1541-2. This marks the beginning of the permanent occupation of the St. Lawrence valley, and Champlain has been known as the Father of New France. The Indians along the St. Lawrence had been visited by the previous French explorers. There were three different tribes or nations—those near the mouth of the St. Lawrence were known as the Montagnais, mountain Indians; those in the vicinity of the Ottawa River and the northern tributaries of the St. Lawrence were Algonquins, and those further west on the north side of the lakes were the Hurons. They were all enemies of the Iroquois, who lived in what is now the present State of New York.

Champlain was induced in the summer of 1609 to go with a band of Algonquin warriors presumably to discover a beautiful lake in the mountains of the Iroquois country, but in reality to make war on the Iroquois. The two deadly enemies met on the west shore of Lake Champlain on a bright morning in June, 1609. Champlain and two French soldiers with guns stepped forth and fired into the ranks of the enemy. Two Iroquois chiefs fell dead. The frightened Iroquois fled to places of safety, leaving their dead and wounded to the tender mercies of the Algonquins. This "entangling alliance" which the French entered into with the Algonquins was a very unfortunate movement in New World diplomacy. The Iroquois became deadly enemies of the French and thus forced the latter when they wished to reach the interior of the continent to seek such routes as they could find on the north side of the Great Lakes. Their route was up the Ottawa River, across to Lake Huron, by way of Mackinaw and Lake Michigan to the eastern tributaries of the Mississippi.

In 1615 Champlain returned to France for additional help. Among the aids which he brought back from the homeland were four Franciscan monks, Denis Jamay, Jean D'Olbeau, Joseph Le Caron, Pacifique Du Plessis. Jamay and Du Plessis were stationed in Quebec, while D'Olbeau took up work among the Montagnais Indians, and de Caron was given the territory north and west of Lake Erie. All of these priests did a great work in keeping alive a friendly feeling between the French and the Canadian Indians. The work undertaken by these four monks became so burdensome that they appealed to the Jesuits to help in the endless task. The order of Jesuits soon became the leading order in New France and their work has been the theme for great praise by those who have written of the spread of the French empire in the New World.

Pushing Into the Interior

Champlain was made governor of New France and held the position till his death in 1635. During these twenty-seven years, he was constantly furthering the interests of his king and the Catholic religion. His dream was to find a way through the continent to the Pacific Ocean, and in the pursuit of that aim he was continually pushing westward into the interior of the continent. Among those Champlain sent into the west to explore and lay claim to the country was Jean Nicolet, a friend of Champlain. He had lived with the Indians and had mastered their language and was much sought as an interpreter. He discovered Lake Michigan in 1634. He visited the Indians around Green Bay where he was well received by them. He is said to have visited the most northern villages of the Illinois Indians.

Two Jesuit missionaries, Brebeuf and Daniel, visited the River St. Mary and the south side of Lake Superior about the year 1634. By 1635 there were as many as fifteen Jesuit priests in the region of the Great Lakes and along the St. Lawrence.

In all this movement of the missionaries and traders into the western part of the lake region, there was the bitterest opposition on the part of the Iroquois. They never allowed an expedition to make use of the St. Lawrence or Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. In passing from Quebec to the Green Bay region the French must go a thousand miles out of their way. But these unwearied Jesuits were always in advance of civilization. "The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America." "All day long they must wade or handle the oar. At thirty and five waterfalls the canoes were to be carried on the shoulders for leagues through the thickest woods and over the roughest regions." Bancroft tells of the fate of Father Bressani. "Taken prisoner while on his way to the Hurons (1643); beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briers and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, and scarred, he was an eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life."

But in the year 1635 Champlain's work passed into other hands. The French were so harassed by the Iroquois and the Dutch in the valley of the Hudson River that it looked as if the good work which Champlain and those under his direction had done would all go for naught. But brave hearts and strong hands came to the task and eventually the interest of France in this part of the New World was prospering again. In 1655 there was a cessation of hostilities on the part of the Iroquois and a sort of peace was agreed to between the French and the Iroquois. After this the French pushed their explorations far-

ther to the west and southwest. Every expedition which returned from the far west revealed the riches of that region. Vast stores of furs from the region of the three western lakes were brought at regular intervals to Montreal and Quebec for shipment to the markets of Europe.

First Bishop in New France

The work of the church in New France for the first fifty years was without the direction of a central authority. In the year 1659 the interests were considered of sufficient importance to justify the establishment of a bishop's see. In that year the first bishop of New France, Francis Xavier de Laval, as bishop of Montreal, arrived from France with many subordinates for the further extension of the interest of the Catholic religion. The Franciscan order furnished most of the early workers in the church, but the Jesuit order was also early represented. In about 1658 the Franciscans were excluded from New France and from that time the Jesuits were the main support of the church. "Their missionaries continued to defy every danger and to endure every toil." But just when the skies were brightening for the French a war broke out. French missionaries who had gained a foothold to the south of the lakes were compelled to abandon their stations and flee to Montreal for safety. Another setback came to the French in the years following the Restoration in England. When the valley of the Hudson was transferred from the Dutch to the English in 1664 the end of French influence among the Iroquois was at hand.

The Algonquins of the west were not always able to hold the Iroquois in check as the latter would go forth on their campaigns of destruction. They therefore sought to ally themselves more thoroughly with the now growing French power. The Bishop of Montreal himself was very desirous of going into the west to bring about a union of all interests opposed to the destructive power of the Iroquois. The western Indians were anxious to build up commercial relations with the French. In 1660 a deputation of 300 Algonquins in sixty canoes loaded with pelts and furs accompanied the French traders on their return to Quebec. The deputation made clear to the French authorities at Quebec the need of an alliance between the French and the Indians of the west.

Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., had spent two years in the immediate vicinity of the south shore of Lake Superior. In 1669 he returned to Quebec to urge the sending of groups of French emigrants into the West in order to establish permanent missions and trading stations. Several missionaries arrived from France, including James Marquette, S. J., about the time Allouez visited Quebec. Almost immediately Father Marquette with Father Dablon repaired to the West and founded a mission

at Sault Ste. Marie. These men Bancroft describes as defying the severity of the climate, wading through water or through snows, without the comfort of fire; having no bread but pounded maize, and often no other food but the unwholesome moss from the rocks; laboring incessantly; exposed to live, as it were, without nourishment, to sleep without a resting place, to travel far and always incurring perils, all this to carry his life in his hand, expecting captivity, death from the tomahawk, tortures, fire. As they traveled to and fro they were continually hearing wonderful stories of the Mississippi River. Marquette resolved upon attempting its discovery and in 1669 began to study the Illinois language.

The Congress at St. Mary's

The French Government had never up to 1670, taken much interest in the work which had been done by the church in the far west. In fact, the work seems to have been the result of individual effort. But the increased commercial activities between Quebec and the Algonquins in the west became a matter of much interest to the French government about this time. Jean Baptiste Colbert, a brilliant statesman, was made Minister of Finance upon the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661. He immediately introduced fiscal reforms by which the incomes of the government were soon trebled. He became deeply interested in extending the power of France westward to the South Sea.

The intendant of New France was M. Jean Talon, who under the spirit of the new interest of the French Government appointed Simon Francois Daumont, sieur de St. Lusson, who had lately been engaged in establishing French interest on the Kenebec River to hold a congress of the Indian tribes at St. Mary's, at the outlet of Lake Superior, in the summer of 1671. An agent of the government had been sent into the region about St. Mary's to invite the several tribes to send delegates to the proposed congress. This agent, Nicholas Perrot, was very successful in creating interest in the proposed congress. Fourteen different nations or tribes sent delegates.

On the fourth of June, 1671, St. Lusson, with Father Allouez and a brilliantly clad retinue of French officers, arrived at the appointed place. St. Lusson, as the special representative of the King of France, pointed out to the assembled congress that it was the purpose of the "Great King" to take the tribes in this western part of New France under his special care. These delegates remembered too well the horrid butcheries which the Iroquois had for many years perpetrated upon the Algonquins of the country round about; and the brilliant display of military force which France had sent to this congress was well calculated to create in the minds of those present the unquestioned ability of France to defend them against the savage Iroquois.

One purpose of this congress was to detach the Indians with their fur trade from the attractive markets opened by the English around the coasts of Hudson Bay. At regular intervals great trains of hunters and trappers were carrying tons of furs to the trading posts along the south border of Hudson Bay. If this trade should continue, the French traders might as well close their doors, and the priests might as well return to Quebec or to France.

Again there was an ill-defined purpose of sending an expedition to the Illinois country for the purpose of taking the Gospel to that region, and to discover whether this great river the missionaries had heard of might not empty into the waters of the Pacific. The Indians had reported it as a fact that it did flow into the Gulf of California. "Every nation of Western Europe had been enthusiastic with the hope of discovering a direct route by water to China, and all had searched for it in vain."

The Indians were greatly impressed with the ceremonies of the congress and the friends of St. Lusson might hail him as the great ambassador to the republicans of the West. The part played by the church in this great meeting was indicated by a cedar cross which was raised on the banks of the outlet of the great lake, Superior. The French all bowed before the cross and chanted the *Vexilla Regis.*

"The banners of Heaven's King advance;
The mystery of the cross shines forth."

By the side of the cross another cedar column was planted which bore the lilies of France. Thus were united the faith of the church and the power of the government for the saving of souls and the spread of French dominion in the New World. "Yet this daring ambition of the servants of a military monarch was doomed to leave no abiding monument—this echo of the middle age to die away."

The great concourse dispersed. The Indian delegates to go to their several tribes to report, and they in turn to pledge anew their allegiance to the "Great King." The missionaries to go to their several stations to reconsecrate themselves to the task of winning an indifferent race to an allegiance to a Greater King. The agents and the soldiers of the King to go to Quebec, where they might bask in the sunshine of official favor, and to await the plaudits of an indulgent government. Thus ended a simple incident, but one of far-reaching importance. The work of the French Government was just begun and greater problems were to be solved and great national consequences were at stake.

Father James Marquette, who had played no small part in the West since his arrival, gathered about him the remnants of a former prosperous Huron tribe and founded a mission where the waters from Lake Michigan pass through the narrow confines of the Straits of Mackinaw. The place was called St. Ignace

and is said to have been on the north side of the water passage. The mission was called St. Ignace in honor of Saint Ignatius, a bishop in the church of the early part of the second century. Here he ministered to the Hurons and members of other tribes who might pass that way. But he longed to go to the Illinois country and to sail upon the great river he had heard so much about. His wish will shortly be granted.

The King and his minister, Colbert, were well informed as to the possibilities of this Western country. M. Talon, the intendant of New France, wrote an extended letter to Colbert as early as 1665, in which he describes the western part of Canada as the home of divers nations rich in furs. He speaks of the Southern peoples as being rich in other commodities. He calls attention to the fact that if the French do not know as much about the Southern nations as they do of the Northern tribes, it is because the Mohawks have prevented the French missionaries and traders from going into the Southern country. In the "Jesuit Relations" of 1668-9, Father Marquette says: "When the Illinois come (to trade at) the Point (Point St. Esprit), they pass a great river which is almost a league in width. It flows from north to south and to so great a distance that the Illinois, who know nothing of the use of the canoe, have never as yet heard of its mouth." Father Marquette expressed the hope that the means to "visit the nations who dwell along its shores in order to open the way to the many of our Fathers who were awaiting so great an opportunity," would soon present itself. This river which is spoken of in their relations was what we call the Mississippi. It is said by a scholarly writer that the word comes from "Mechah" (big) and seebee (river) in the Ojibway language.

CHAPTER V

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Louis Joliet—Father Marquette—The Journey to the Mississippi—The Piasa Bird—The Return Journey—Mission of the Immaculate Conception—Death of Marquette

The interest in the great river grew till, in 1672, M. Jean Talon, who was getting ready to leave New France, made plans for sending a representative of the government into the Illinois country in order to find more particularly whether the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico or into the Gulf of California. The new governor of Canada, or New France, was Count Frontenac. He had superseded Courcelles, who was returning to France on account of ill health. Frontenac readily adopted the plans which Courcelles and Talon had worked out for the expedition to the Illinois country.

Louis Joliet

Louis Joliet was a native of New France and had received excellent training in the Jesuit schools of Quebec. He had studied for the priesthood, but liking travel and exploration, he gave up the clerical studies and entered upon a very active life of secular work. When a young man of twenty-four he had made a trip to the Lake Superior region in search of copper mines. On his return he ventured to sail on the waters of Lake Erie. He was widely known as a voyageur. He was familiar with the dialects of the various Indian tribes and was a man of rather unusual attainments.

It fell out, therefore, that Joliet was selected by M. Talon and Governor Frontenac to go on this expedition of discovery and exploration. But the government of France had another purpose in sending an expedition into the Illinois country. The conversion of the Indians was a prime object on the part of the government. It was therefore very appropriate that Joliet should have some cleric with him on this journey. Father Claude J. Dablon, the Father Superior of the Jesuit Missions, was informed of the plans of the governor of New France. The Father Superior, when fully informed of the purpose of the visit to the Illinois country, selected with rare good judgment Father James Marquette, who at that time was at his mission of St. Ignace.

Father Marquette

Father Marquette had long contemplated a visit to the Illinois country. We have previously called attention to the fact that he had learned the Illinois tongue in order that he might some day be able to preach the gospel to the natives in Illinois. It appears that Father Marquette never applied to his Superior for permission to travel in this country. Had he done so, it is very likely that to him alone would have come the glory of discovery and exploration of the Mississippi. Section I of the Shea translations of the "Relations" gives an extract from the diary of Father Marquette relative to his desire to go on a trip to the Illinois country. It reads: "The day of the Immaculate Con-

JOLIET

MARQUETTE

ception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked since I have been in this Ottawa Country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the River Missisipi, was identically that on which M. Jollyet arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our Governor, and M. Talon, our Intendant, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished and myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvations of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois, who had, when I was at Lapointe du St. Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country."

Joliet was directed by Frontenac to proceed into the West and join himself to Father Marquette and make preparations for the journey. He left Quebec with his commission from the governor

in the fall of 1672. He arrived at Mackinac on December 8, the day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Here he remained over the winter of 1672-3. In the spring the arrangements were completed for the journey. These it seems after all were very simple.

Five voyageurs were engaged for the journey. Two bark canoes, with a rather limited supply of Indian corn and some dried meat. This indeed looks like a scanty supply for seven men who expected to be gone all summer.

The Journey to the Mississippi

On the 17th of May, 1673, this flotilla of two canoes and seven men pushed out of the harbor of St. Ignace. They carried charts and maps which they had constructed from the descriptions they had obtained from Indians who had been in the Illinois Country Marquette says they sketched the course of the Mississippi, its branches, the lands through which it runs, and located the various Indian tribes through whose lands they would sail.

Their course was westward and south along the west side of the present Lake Michigan till they reached Green Bay. Here they turned into the bay with the expectation of reaching the Mississippi through the Fox River, Wisconsin River, and a short portage. They held conferences with the Menominee, who were known by the name of Wild Oats. They spent three days here and then proceeded on their way. They stopped with other tribes, portaged from the Fox to the Wisconsin, and paddled down the Wisconsin.

Marquette gives a detailed description of the mouth of Fox River. He described it as a beautiful stream. Describes the animal and bird life. Says the presence of birds is accounted for by the presence of an abundance of wild oats which grow along the banks of Green Bay. As they passed up Fox River they came to a considerable town made up of Miamis, Maskoutins, and Kickapoos. In this town they found a beautiful cross. To it were attached skins, bells, bows and arrows. The town was beautifully situated and all about it were groves of timber or patches of prairie.

Father Marquette knew he was near the divide between the two drainage systems—one into the St. Lawrence, the other into the Mississippi. He asked for two guides who should go with them over the portage. The Indians tried to dissuade them from their intention to go on to the great river. But they were told that their course was determined. Two guides helped the Frenchmen over the portage between the Fox River and the Wisconsin. Marquette says, "I put the expedition under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her that if she did us the grace to discover the great river, I would give it the name of Conception; and that I would also give that name

to the first mission which I should establish among these new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois."

Before embarking on the Wisconsin they all made their devotions to the Virgin, which they were careful to do each day of their journey. The voyage down the Wisconsin was without incident, except at one place they examined the banks for the presence of iron which they claimed they found in abundance. They reached the mouth of the Wisconsin and the broad Mississippi on the 17th of June, just one month from the day they left St. Ignace. The sight of the great river filled them with a joy inexpressible.

Marquette gives a very detailed account of the river, the land on each side, the animal life and the life in the river. The buffalo was a new animal to them, and some of the fishes they found in the river were strange. On June 25th they found themselves near the vicinity of what is now Keokuk, Iowa. Here they discovered footprints, and a path leading into the prairie. Marquette and Joliet left their canoes with the five voyageurs and went into the prairie, where they found a village of Indians. Four old Indians carrying tobacco-pipes came out to welcome them. Marquette spoke to them and they replied that they were Illinois and presented the pipes of peace. The two Frenchmen visited the tent of the great chief, where they exchanged greetings and made speeches. These Illinois Indians did their best to dissuade the Frenchmen from going further down the river. The Illinois set a feast, to which the Frenchmen were invited. Marquette says he and Joliet partook of all the dishes except the one which consisted of dog meat. The Frenchmen visited the village of some three hundred cabins and remained that night as the guests of the grand sachem. On the morrow the visitors were accompanied to their boats by as many as six hundred Indians, who bade them adieu and bon voyage.

The Piasa Bird

From here the Frenchmen went on down the Mississippi. Marquette gives very careful description of the vegetables he sees along the way. As they passed the mouth of the Illinois River they were impressed with the high bluffs on the Illinois side. On one of these some miles above what is now Alton, Illinois, they saw what came to be a well-known object in this state, representations of the Great Piasa Bird. Of this object Marquette says: "As we coasted along rocks, frightful for their height and length, we saw two monsters painted on these rocks, which startled us at first, and on which the boldest Indians dare not gaze long. They are as large as a calf, with horns on the head like a deer, a fearful look, red eyes, bearded like a tiger, the face somewhat like a man's, the body covered with scales, and the tail so long that it twice makes the turn of the body,

passing over the head and down between the legs, and ending at last in a fish's tail. Green, red, and a kind of black are the colors employed. On the whole, these two monsters are so well painted that we could not believe any Indian to have been the designer, as good painters in France would find it hard to do as well; besides this, they are so high upon the rock that it is hard to get conveniently at them to paint them. This is pretty nearly the figure of these monsters, as I drew them off."

In an early day in that part of Illinois north and east of the locality of the Piasa Bird, there was a tradition which came from the Indians to the effect that once there lived a great monster in a cave at this place. The tradition ran that this monster was a hideous creature with wings, and great claws, and teeth. It was accustomed to devour every living creature which

THE PIASA BIRD

came within its reach; men, women, children, and animals of all kinds. The Indians had suffered great loss of their people from the ravages of this monster and a council of war was held to devise some means by which his career might be ended. Among other schemes for his extermination was a proposition by a certain young warrior to the effect that upon the departure of the beast on one of his long flights for food that he would volunteer to be securely tied to stakes on the ledge in front of the mouth of the cave, and that a sufficient number of other warriors of the tribe should be stationed near with their poisoned arrows so that when the monster bird should return from his flight and should attack the bound warrior, the concealed companions might slay him with their poisoned arrows.

The proposition of the young warrior was accepted by the other members of the tribe, and on a certain day the bird took his habitual flight. The young warrior who offered to sacrifice

his life was securely bound to strong stakes in front of the mouth of the cave where the beast had his den. The warriors who were to slay the beast were all hidden in the rocks and shrubs nearby. In the afternoon the monster was seen returning from his long journey. Upon alighting near the cave, he discovered the young Indian and immediately attacked, fastening his claws and teeth in his body. The thongs held the Indian securely and the more the monster strove to escape with his prey, the more his claws became entangled in the thongs.

At a concerted moment the warriors all about opened upon the monster with their poisoned arrows, and before the beast could extricate himself his life blood was ebbing, and in a few minutes he lay dead before them.

The story further runs that the Indians took the monster and stretched him in front of the high, smooth bluff and there marked out his form; they afterwards painted this outline in the colors which Father Marquette says he saw on his journey down the river. An order went forth that each brave as he went up or down the river should discharge at least one arrow at the painting. This the Indians continued to do. When the Europeans had supplied the Indians with firearms, they continued to shoot at least once at the image in passing.

This story, which was current in Western Illinois in the middle of the nineteenth century, has been greatly discounted by many writers. Judge Joseph Gillespie, of Edwardsville, was a man whom Illinois has greatly honored. He visited the bluffs where the Piasa Bird was supposed to be in 1833, and he says that he did not see anything that made him think that it was intended to represent a bird. He thought the coloring matter may have been exudations from the crevices of the rocks, and may have so spread over the face of the bluff as to resemble a birdlike monster to impressionable people. He further says: "I did see the marks of the bullets shot by the Indians against the rocks in the vicinity of the so-called picture. The object of shooting at this I never could comprehend."

Judge Gillespie thinks the whole story originated with Prof. John Russell of Bluff Dale, in Greene County. Professor Russell was a resident of Illinois at an early date, but earlier lived in Eastern Missouri, probably as early as 1818 or 1820. He was a writer of considerable note and published a number of books. He was around Alton as early as 1820 and may have started the story of how the Indians killed the monster.

We left Marquette and Joliet at the bluffs above Alton. Marquette describes the condition of things at the mouth of the Missouri River. As they approached the junction of that stream with the Mississippi they observed great trees, or, as he calls them, floating islands, coming down the Missouri River. The noise these floating forests made was frightful, and indeed the

presence of these floating trees was a danger which Marquette and his party were wise in avoiding. They next came to a monster rock in the Mississippi which came to be known as Grand Tower rock. This large tower rock still causes a commotion in the waters, and is dangerous to small craft, but it would appear that Marquette and the Indians exaggerated the importance of this rock as an obstruction to navigate. The rock is near the Missouri side of the river, opposite the Village of Grand Tower, in Jackson County.

The exploring party moved southward along the western boundary of Illinois till it came to the mouth of the Ohio River. Somewhere either above or below the mouth of the Ohio they discovered a very pronounced deposit of iron. They also found a sort of clay of various colors, purple, violet, red; also some red earth or sand which stained their oars. As they moved south they came into the swampy lands of Arkansas and were greatly disturbed by the mosquitoes. They also came into a land whose inhabitants had guns and axes, hoes, knives, beads, and glass bottles; in the bottles they kept their powder. Further down the river they stopped with some Indians with whom it was difficult to hold conversation. They were the Michigamies. Marquette says he spoke six languages but they did not understand one of them. At last an old man who could speak a little of the Illinois language was found, and through him Marquette was able to hold conversation with these natives. Marquette and his party remained over night with these Indians. When ready to go the next morning, they were told there was a tribe or village down the river called Akamsea (Arkansas) who could tell them all about the sea and the distance to it.

The Return Journey

They found these Indians somewhere about the mouth of the Arkansas River. Here Marquette and his party were well received, and acquired considerable information about the country and the distance to the sea (Gulf of Mexico). Marquette and Joliet held a council and decided that they had settled the fact that the Mississippi River did not flow into the Pacific nor into the Atlantic in the territory of Virginia, but that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. They also agreed that there would be danger of war with the Indians who lived further south. When they had agreed to go no further south, they notified the Indians, who were greatly pleased, for they knew something of the dangers which lurked along the lower Mississippi.

The voyagers started on their return journey the 17th of July, two months from the time they left St. Ignace. They found the stream difficult to navigate on account of the opposition of a strong current. When they approached the mouth of the Illinois River, they were told that the distance to Lake Michigan was

much shorter up the Illinois River than by way of the Wisconsin and the Fox rivers. Accordingly, they ascended the Illinois River. Marquette was somewhat weakened by the long journey and in poor health, and it was now his desire to return to his mission as quickly as they could. They were greatly pleased with the country through which they traveled. The placid waters, the picturesque bluffs, the expansive prairies, the beautiful timber, and the abundance of game of all kinds was a great inspiration to their tired spirits.

They traversed this river with little of the unusual. At what is now Peoria they found a village of Illinois Indians. Here they remained some days, while Father Marquette preached to the people. As he was leaving he baptized an infant which was thought to be at the point of death. As they proceeded up the Illinois River they came to the village of the Kaskaskia Indians. The village was somewhere in the vicinity of the modern town of Utica, some nine miles below Ottawa, LaSalle County. There were seventy-four cabins in the village. The natives were well disposed toward Father Marquette and his party. Marquette preached to them and they were so deeply interested in him and his story of the Gospel that they made him promise to return to them and tell more of the story of the cross. So well pleased were the natives that they furnished an escort of a chief and several young men to accompany Marquette and his party to the Chicago portage. From here they made their way by easy stages to the mission at Green Bay, where they arrived in September, 1673.

Father Marquette remained at the Mission of St. Francois Xavier, at the head of Green Bay, during the winter of 1673-4, and also through the summer of 1674. Joliet also remained in the vicinity of the western lakes till the late summer of 1674. In August of that year he reported to the governor of New France at Quebec. Here he gave only a verbal report of the expedition into the Illinois country. When he left Green Bay, in the summer of 1674, he traveled by boat toward Quebec. When approaching Quebec his boat was upset and he and some companions saved their lives, but lost everything else—maps, notes, and specimens. Some maps, however, were left in the West and they were afterwards identified. Joliet, after reporting to the governor, proceeded to France, where he was received with great favor and afterwards sent on a mission to Central America.

Late in the fall of 1674, Father Marquette determined to redeem his promise to the Kaskaskia Indians that he would return to them and tell them more about the Savior of the world. Father Marquette has left very brief notes of his movements in the winter and spring of 1674-5, and from them we may give the following story: On October 27, 1674, in company with two

Frenchmen called Pierre Porteret and Jacques LeCastor, he left the Mission of St. Francois Xavier, at the head of Green Bay, to go to the Kaskaskia village, on the Illinois River, some eight or ten miles below Ottawa. Apparently without Father Marquette's knowledge, five canoes full of Pottawattomi and four canoes full of Illinois Indians had started ahead of him en route to the Illinois. The two canoes of Indians were overtaken on the way down the west side of Lake Michigan and the weather was so stormy that the company made little headway, often having to stay five days at a time in one place because of storms or other weather conditions. On November 21, 1674, Marquette made note of the fact that he has a return of his old malady, dysentery. In the notes which he records from time to time, he often refers to the fact that he was able to say mass. They reached Chicago River on December 4, 1674. There they built some cabins and made themselves comfortable. Here they planned to stay until spring. During the winter there was much passing to and fro up and down the Chicago River. The Illinois Indians who had come with him from Green Bay left him on the 15th of December. On this date he also complains of much suffering from the dysentery.

The winter which Father Marquette spent in Chicago was a long, severe one, and we might conclude that a very sick man would suffer from cold, an improper kind and amount of food, and from inattention. But we have it on very good authority that the was tenderly cared for, and that many Indians in passing ministered to him, and that at least a few Frenchmen paid him comforting visits. Marquette says disquieting news came to him by the mouth of Jacques, who had returned from the village of the Illinois. It was that the Indians there were at the point of starvation on account of the severe weather, which had prevented them from going on their winter hunt. This village was only about six leagues, or probably eighteen or twenty miles distant. Of the two Frenchmen who came to see Marquette, one was a physician. He brought food and otherwise ministered to Father Marquette.

On the 9th of February Father Marquette mentions the fact that he is in much better health and is only awaiting better weather conditions that he might proceed on his journey to the village of the Kaskaskia Indians. On February 20th he reports having killed several deer, and remarks that they were so lean that they were obliged to leave the carcass on the lake shore. He also says that the partridges are plentiful and very choice eating, but not so good as the French partridges.

Mission of the Immaculate Conception

On the 30th of March he records that the ice was breaking up and the waters had risen so much that one night they were

obliged to seek safety on a hillock of sand. On this day the little band made a start for the Kaskaskia village. The route was up the south branch of the Chicago River, and across the portage to the Des Plaines River. On the 30th of March they crossed the portage and hoped to reach the Indian village in a few days. They made the trip without incident and reached the village on April 8th, 1675.

He was received with great honor, as "an angel from Heaven." Five hundred chiefs and elders of the tribes gathered about him in a circle, and beyond this inner circle was an outer circle of the common people to the number of fifteen hundred men, women, and children. Father Marquette must have felt that this was the happiest moment of his life. He spoke with deep religious feeling, intensified by the fact that he felt his own end was approaching. On the 11th of April, 1675, Father Marquette founded and established a mission there under the title of "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin." He remained but a few days, for he was desirous of reaching St. Ignace before the end should come. A great number of chiefs and warriors accompanied him to the Chicago portage and to the lake. They vied with one another to carry his baggage and to render him assistance. At the lake they bade him an affectionate farewell.

Death of Father Marquette

The company had now been reduced to Father Marquette, Pierre, and Jacques. The route selected was by way of the southerly bend of Lake Michigan and along its eastern shore. His strength gradually failed him and he begged his young men to carry him ashore that he might die quietly on land and thus escape death in a great storm which was then gathering upon the troubled waters of the great lake. The two young Frenchmen took the dying man ashore, the exact spot is in dispute, but the evidence appears to favor the place now occupied by the City of Ludington, on an inlet from Lake Michigan known since as Pere Marquette Lake, which is the mouth of a small stream called Pere Marquette River. Here a few years ago some interested friends erected a pretentious monument to mark the spot where Father Marquette is supposed to have died.

Father Marquette had given the two young men explicit directions as to his burial. They followed these, and after erecting a cross to mark his final resting place, they continued their journey to St. Ignace with the sad news of the death of its founder. In the spring of 1676 the Ottawas of Canada were returning from a hunting expedition in Southern Michigan. As they passed the grave of Marquette, they took up the remains, separated the bones from the decayed flesh, put them in a bark basket, and safely carried them to St. Ignace, where they were buried under the church which he had built there.

CHAPTER VI.

DEFEATS AND TRIUMPHS OF LA SALLE

His Post at Lachine—Fort Frontenac—Letters Patent—The Griffin—Fort Miami—Kaskaskia—Peoria—Crevecoeur—Hennepin Exposition—La Salle in New France—Tonti's Trials.

Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, is regarded by many as the greatest character in the annals of French history in America. He was born at Rouen in France, November 22, 1643. He was educated by the Jesuits, but at the age of twenty-three he severed his connection with that order and next came to Canada. He was in need of entering into some profitable business as he had renounced all his wealth when he joined the order of Jesuits.

Defeats and Triumphs of La Salle

He first located as a fur trader on the St. Lawrence above Montreal where he prospered. He was on good terms with Jean Talon, the intendant of New France. He was encouraged by Talon to go on exploring expeditions during which he explored Lake Ontario and went as far as Lake Erie. While living at his fur trading station called Lachine, he heard of the Mississippi and thought it might lead to China. In July, 1669, he embarked on his first voyage into the far west. He was accompanied by two priests, De Galinee and D'Ollier. But at the west end of Lake Ontario he disagreed with the two priests and they separated. For the next two years he was occupied in discoveries and explorations. During these two years he was often by himself in his work and at other times he was accompanied by Frenchmen or Indians.

A wooden fort had been built by Count de Frontenac at the outlet of Lake Ontario, where Kingston now stands. The fort was not well cared for and was of little or no value to the Government. The strategic value of the position was well understood by La Salle and by Count de Frontenac. In 1674 La Salle went to France to ask the King for a grant of land about the fort. He took a glowing account of the country to the King and this report was confirmed by a letter from M. Talon in which he says that it is possible to surround the English colonies along the Atlantic coast. "Measures adopted to confine them within narrow limits by taking possession which I have caused to be effected do not allow them to spread."

Fort Frontenac

La Salle presented his case to the King through the great Colbert and created a favorable impression upon the French King. He made bold to ask for the gift of the fort at the outlet of Lake Ontario together with a grant of land of large area. The King yielded to his request and a sort of contract was drawn up which indicated the conditions under which La Salle should hold the fort. They are briefly as follows:

1. La Salle agreed to repair the fort and keep it in a good state of defense; to keep a garrison there at all times; clear and till the soil; provide guns, artillery, ammunition, etc.

LA SALLE

2. To repay Count Frontenac for the cost of the fort, since it was constructed by the governor.

3. To make grants of land to the settlers who came there to live, and to give them all rights and privileges according to the edicts of the Sovereign Council in New France.

4. To attract the Indians to this place; grant them lands, instruct them in trades and labor.

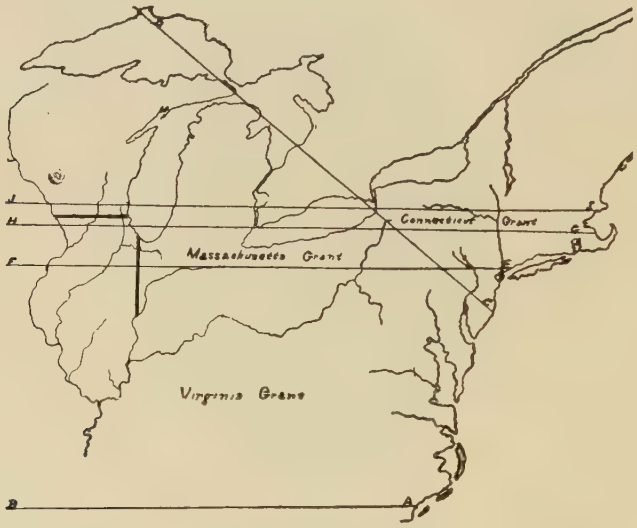
5. La Salle agreed to build a church, and to maintain two priests who should minister to those who resided at that point.

6. The King is humbly asked to give La Salle a title of Nobility in recognition of the seven years of hard work he had already performed in New France.

The King fully complied with the prayer of La Salle and made the gift of the fort and extensive areas around it. La Salle hastened to New France to take charge of his possessions. Here

for two or three years he governed for his master in France. The fort he rebuilt of stone, extensive grants were made to Indians, he reared great herds and flocks, and the Iroquois sought his protection. Monks carried on their work under his patronage, vessels were built and great success attended every plan which La Salle furthered.

Just at this time Joliet returning from his journey down the Mississippi passed Fort Frontenac and without doubt paid his respects to the rising young statesman. Not only through the report of Joliet, but through the warriors of the Iroquois nation with whom he was in constant communication, he gained a glorious picture of the great interior which awaited the coming



MAP SHOWING THE ROYAL GRANT TO VIRGINIA, CONNECTICUT AND MASSACHUSETTS

of a master. He decided upon an expedition into this country of the Illinois that the banner of his King might float over it from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. It was a part of the plan to build a chain of forts reaching from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, and to open up the great interior to European commerce which he thought would quickly reach important proportions.

Bancroft says La Salle had given hours of his time in the solitude of upper Canada to the perusal of the voyages of Columbus and the rambles of De Soto, and that his imagination was aflame. To this was added the continued stories that came to him from the Indians about the Ohio river and the lands west of the Alleghanies. Out of all this he built up the outlines of a

great political and commercial empire in the Southwest and boldly approached his King for the privilege of carrying out his plans.

Letters Patent

In 1678 he went the second time to France. We should keep in mind, however, that he has the warm support of Courcelles and Talon, in New France and the attentive ear of Colbert at the French court. "Colbert listened with delight to the gigantic schemes which La Salle had formed; and at the special instance of Colbert's eldest son, the Marquis de Seignelay, a youth of extraordinary promise, La Salle obtained an exclusive monopoly in buffalo skins, and a commission from the King to explore the valley of the Mississippi in Letters Patent as follows:

Letters Patent

Granted by the King of France to the Sieur de La Salle, on the 12th of May, 1678.

Translation

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre. To our dear and well-beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, greeting.

We have received with favor the very humble petition, which has been presented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the Western part of our country of New France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly, because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable that a passage may be found to Mexico; and because your diligence in clearing the lands which we granted to you by decree of our council of the 13th of May, 1675, and, by Letters Patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the said lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in good state of defence, the seigniory and Government whereof we likewise granted to you, affords us every reason to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of the said country.

For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the Western part of our country of New France, and, for the execution of this enterprise, to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and conformably to our said Letters Patent of the 13th of May, 1675, which we have confirmed, as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these presents. And it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenor.

To accomplish this, and everything above mentioned, we give you full powers; on condition, however, that you shall finish this enterprise within five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever with the savages called Outauoacs, and others who bring their beaver-skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense, and that of your company, to which we have granted the privilege of trade in buffalo-skins. And we call on Sieur de Frontenac, our governor and lieutenant-general, and on the Sieur de Chesneau, intendant of justice, police and finance, and on the officers who compose the supreme council in the said country, to affix their signatures to these presents; for such is our pleasure. Given at St. Germain en Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

(Signed) LOUIS.

And lower down, by the king,

And sealed with the great seal of yellow wax Colbert.

The act of the governor, attached to these, is dated the 5th of November, 1678.

The Patent was somewhat modified from the original request, but La Salle and his friends thought that there were implications in the document which would enable him to carry out his original intentions. La Salle was anxious to have the Patent contain a clause authorizing the founding of settlements in the Southwest, but this idea was not favored by the King, as he thought such enterprises in the West would draw off too many of his subjects from Canada—New France.

Now that he was clothed with almost absolute authority in the New World outside of New France, La Salle began to cast about to see what he could do in the way of financing his great undertaking. Different friends in France came to his relief and he secured the sum of 45,000 livres, or $9,000 in our present coinage. When he returned to New France, Frontenac arranged to secure for him an additional 14,000 livres. In addition to all this, his "brothers and relations spared nothing to enable him to respond worthily to the royal goodness," and they say that within five years they have advanced to La Salle the sum of 500,000 livres. If we are to credit all these figures, La Salle's great undertaking cost him in the neighborhood of $112,000 in gold.

La Salle while in Paris had the warm friendship of Colbert, the King's great minister, his son, the Marquis de Seignelay, and the Prince de Conti, one of the most prominent military figures in France at this time. Among men of lesser note was Abbe Renandot who was deeply in sympathy with La Salle and to whom he introduced Henri de Tonti, an Italian officer who had gained the favor of Prince de Conti. De Tonti was induced

to cast in his fortunes with La Salle and with his help the latter began to gather up the various members of his company for his return to New France. Carpenters, shipwrights, blacksmiths, sailors and common laborers were secured; while large quantities of material for the construction of ships, mills, and shops were collected.

The Griffin

La Salle and his party sailed from Rochelle July 15, 1678, and landed at Quebec the 15th of September following. The party remained there only a few days when, formally taking leave of Count de Frontenac, they sailed for Fort Frontenac at the outlet of Lake Ontario. Here they remained only four days when they proceeded to Niagara Falls to select a site for the building of a boat for the navigation of the upper lakes. The place selected was at the mouth of Tonawanda creek half way between Buffalo and Niagara Falls. Here the workmen built a ship of some sixty tons called the Griffin. While the ship was under construction in the winter of 1678-9, Father Louis Hennepin was busy making friends with the Senecas—a branch of the Iroquois. La Salle had sent forward some of his men to Michillimacanac with money and European goods with orders to purchase furs of the Indians and have them ready when the Griffin should arrive. Following several weeks later went Tonti who was to have charge of the business phase of the trip of the Griffin.

The ship was finished and ready to sail on the 7th of August, 1679. There were mounted on its deck two small brass cannons and three arquebusses. The ship sailed westward over Lake Erie, passed Detroit on the 10th and there took on Tonti and his party. The vessel reached Mackinaw on the 27th of August. Here La Salle found some of the men whom he had sent forward to purchase furs. Others of the party had gone into the interior. Some enemies of La Salle had dissuaded these men from the work which they had been sent to do. They were told that La Salle was visionary and that his boat would never get to Mackinaw. This was discouraging, but Tonti was sent into the interior to hunt up these men, and La Salle with the Griffin proceeded to Green Bay where he arrived about the 10th of September.

At Green Bay he disposed of large quantities of European goods in exchange for furs. It is said he made a large sum of money in this transaction—that is he would have done so if his ship had ever gotten back to Niagara The ship with its valuable cargo of furs was dispatched to Niagara while La Salle and his company of fourteen proceeded south in small boats along the east side of the lake, and entered the St. Joseph River, November 1, 1679. This point had been agreed on as the place where Tonti should report with the deserters whom he had been

instructed to find and bring into the presence of La Salle. At the end of twenty days Tonti appeared but he did not have all of the deserters. He was sent back with orders to bring them to the mouth of the St. Joseph. Not being able on account of storms to reach the deserters Tonti returned and the company made ready to ascend the St. Joseph to the Kankakee portage.

Fort Miami

Before leaving the mouth of the River St. Joseph, La Salle built a chapel, and a store house expecting that the Griffin would return there soon with goods and supplies from Niagara. The company, thirty-eight in all in eight canoes left Fort Miami the third of December. La Salle hung letters on the trees hoping they would be found by the captain of the Griffin when it should return. The St. Joseph-Kankakee portage was somewhere in the neighborhood of South Bend, Indiana. When they reached this place there was some trouble in finding the portage, but the faithful Mohegan guide coming to their rescue, the company soon found itself on the Kankakee on its way to the Illinois River. The portage was five miles across and the ground was swampy. They soon came to a current in the swampy ground, and into this they put their canoes and then they could say they were on the Illinois. As they proceeded down the sluggish stream, they began to find game, especially fowl. At night they could see the distant fires of hunters who roamed the region through the day. Soon hills began to appear along the stream and more or less timber was to be seen. They passed the site of the present city of Ottawa at the mouth of the Fox River. A few miles farther on they passed Buffalo Rock on their right. This is a singular promontory on the north side of the river, some fifty or sixty feet high and bounded on three sides by perpendicular cliffs and extending from the river far enough to contain several hundred acres of prairie and timber. Some eight miles below Ottawa on the left bank stands the famous "Starved Rock." It has become the best known place in the state. It is a bluff a 125 feet high with its front face at the water's edge. We shall hear more of Starved Rock.

Kaskaskia

Opposite the Starved Rock is the present town of Utica; near by was the village of Kaskaskia. This is our third introduction to the village. Our first was when Marquette and Joliet were on their way back from the exploration of the Mississippi. On that occasion they ascended the Illinois River and stopped at Peoria and at Kaskaskia. Here Marquette preached to the Indians and they were so delighted that they made him promise to return and teach them more of the Saviour of the world. Marquette and Joliet reported that the number of cabins or lodges was

seventy-four. Father Allouez visited Kaskaskia in 1677, two years after Marquette established the mission there, and he reports 450 lodges. Our second introduction to the village of Kaskaskia was the occasion of Marquette's visit in the spring of 1675. He reported the presence of 2,000 warriors besides women and children. Our third introduction is in the year 1680 when La Salle reaches this center of the Illinois tribes. Father Zenobius Membre visited Kaskaskia in 1680 and says the village contained seven or eight thousand souls. The village evidently varied greatly as to population. Father Hennepin who was in La Salle's company, says when they reached the village of Kaskaskia in 1680, the lodges were empty—not a soul in sight. The tribes had gone on the annual winter hunt.

La Salle was very much embarrassed for his company was out of food and the fires which the Indians had set the summer before had driven small game far away from the banks of the river. La Salle's men found an abundance of corn in the "caches," a sort of outdoor cellar. But this corn was for the sustenance of the tribe when it returned from its winter hunt. Among Indians it would be a great offence to disturb this corn. La Salle wished to follow the laws among the Indians, but there was no one of whom he could purchase. He resolved therefore to take as much as they needed, expecting to pay for it if he should find the owners of it. The company stayed but a day in the village, and after three or four days' travel they arrived at the upper part of the lake we call Peoria. As they passed down this lake they discovered the smoke of numerous campfires rising through the evening air. The next morning as they came to the south end of the lake, they found that both sides of the river were occupied by lodges. The French were in eight canoes all abreast, Tonti on the left and La Salle on the right. The presence of the French caused a great commotion, and for a time it looked as if war was certain. La Salle did not present his calumet for fear they would consider it a sign of weakness. Presently two chiefs appeared on a hill and arised the peace pipe and in a short time confidence was restored. Fathers Membre and Hennepin went among the people and explained the purpose of their coming. Feasts followed and dancing and good cheer prevailed.

Peoria

The Indians were camping on both sides of the river. La Salle called a conference of head men on the west side of the river, and after making them presents of tobacco and hatchets, he told them that he had taken their corn at the Kaskaskia village and was willing to restore it or pay for it as the Indians preferred. They told La Salle that he was welcome to the corn and offered him more. He warned them that if they could not or

would not minister to his necessities he would go on down the river to the Osages where his blacksmith and gunsmith would be doubly welcome. He also told them that if he stayed in their midst that he must be allowed to build a fort and to refuse to join them in an attack upon the Iroquois since they (the Iroquois) were subjects of the King of France. However, he told them that if the Iroquois were the attacking party he would defend them and furnish them arms and ammunition.

He further explained to them that because of the distance to France and the difficult route by way of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, he was desirous of opening a way to France by discovering the way out into the Gulf of Mexico through the Mississippi. The Indians granted all his requests and gave him a glowing picture of the great river. They said there were no other Europeans on the river, but an Indian from the Gulf coast said he had seen boats with white wings, and with white puffs, and noises like thunder, out on the Gulf of Mexico. To La Salle the skies were clearing. Here he was among friends within a short distance of the mouth of the river and he slept soundly as becometh a care-free mind.

In the night an Indian chief from the Mascoutins together with several Miamis came among the Illinois Indians at Peoria and undid in a few hours what La Salle in several hours had established. They brought presents for the Illinois Indians and easily poisoned their minds against La Salle. Monso, the lying chief, told the Illinois Indians that La Salle was an agent of the Iroquois and that the latter Indians would soon make an invasion of the Illinois country. The Iroquois were greatly dreaded, for we must remember that the Illinois were Algonquins and that there had always been a deadly hatred between the two nations.

But there is always a silver lining. On the morrow an Illinois chief came to La Salle and revealed the entire previous night's work by Monso. La Salle was very grateful to the Illinois chief and repaid him with presents. That same afternoon La Salle and others of his party were invited to dine with a brother of the head chief, Nicanope. The friends were seated around the kettles of food, when the warrior arose and warned La Salle not to proceed any further south as the journey was full of dangers from the elements as well as from the Indians in that region. La Salle arose and thanked the warrior for the advice given, but said the greater the danger the greater the honor when the danger is over; Frenchmen do not flinch from danger. He then told the warrior that "We were not asleep, my brother, when Monso came to tell you under cover of night, that we were spies of the Iroquois. The presents he gave you, that you might believe his falsehoods, are at this moment buried in the earth under this lodge. If he told you the truth, why did he skulk away in the dark? Why did he not show himself by day?—Go after this

impostor, Monso, and bring him back, that we may answer him face to face; for he never saw either of us on the Iroquois, and what can he know of the plots he pretends to reveal?"

The next morning six of his men were gone. They had been dissatisfied and took this occasion to be a good time to desert. La Salle called all his men before him and delivered a strong condemnation against cowardice or ingratitude. He insisted that now was a critical time and that if they would remain loyal till spring he would gladly release them and they could then return to Canada "without dishonor." In addition to this test of La Salle's great powers, there was an effort made to poison him through his food.

Crevecoeur

By the middle of January, 1680, the ice in the river was loosened and Hennepin and La Salle went in their canoes about two miles below the Illinois village and selected a spot for a fort. The place is described as a hill 200 yards from the southern bank of the river, in front, low marshy ground, a ravine on each side of the hill. Here they built their fort and dug a moat on the rear side, thus surrounding it with water. A palisade was built around the grounds, and the place was considered secure against either Illinois or Iroquois. The fort was named Crevecoeur.

La Salle was now relieved from the annoyance of the chatter of hypocrisy and could give earnest thought to the fortunes of the Griffin. It had now been four months since he bade her farewell at Green Bay. He fully expected some word from her long ago. He is not only disappointed, but is in dire need of the supplies which she was to bring on her return trip. He can do nothing constructing a ship to sail the lower Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico without the materials which he left at Fort Frontenac. Many explanations were offered for the apparent loss of the Griffin, but explanations were no good at this time, the ship was certainly lost. It was a gloomy time. The stories from the Illinois were constantly being rehearsed about the fort and there was a real fear among the French men of the dangers on the Mississippi River.

One day an Illinois hunter was returned from a long hunt without knowledge of the unpleasant conditions existing between the French and the Illinois Indians. La Salle took this young hunter to the fort and after a good meal secured from him a frank confession of the conditions on the Mississippi River and of the character of the people along its course. His story greatly heartened La Salle and his company. La Salle repaired to the village and told the chief men that he had been told by some super-natural agent that they were all lying about the river and in a short time they confessed that all they had said about

the dangers were false. Shortly after this, Indians from the tribes along the Mississippi came to the village and they too reported very favorably as to navigation of the Mississippi but in addition said the tribes along the river would gladly welcome the Frenchmen.

"La Salle, apparently ruined in fortune, by the loss of the Griffin; pursued by enemies at Quebec and elsewhere; surrounded by nations whose friendship was uncertain; in a wilderness almost without limits, 1,500 miles from any prospect of succor—resolved in his mighty mind, to set out immediately on foot for Canada in quest of aid." But as time passed day by day La Salle was kept busy at work and in receiving delegations of Indians from all the surrounding country. He began the construction of a boat of considerable dimensions. This was for use on the Mississippi and on the Gulf of Mexico. It was forty-two feet long and twelve feet wide. The lumber was sawn from the trees which grew all about. One purpose that La Salle had in going back to Fort Frontenac was to bring cordage, sails, and certain iron pieces he needed for this "Monster of the Mississippi."

But La Salle was further encouraged by the arrival of delegations from the surrounding tribes. La Salle's fame had gone abroad not only as a resourceful and fearless leader of men, but as a man who was clothed by his Letters Patent with authority over all the regions round about. One delegation was from the far north—perhaps about the head of the waters of the Mississippi River. They extended a pressing invitation to La Salle to visit their country, assuring him that there was great wealth of beaver and other furs, and also saying that it was very near to the Western Sea. These reports created in the mind of La Salle the value in his future work, of an acquaintance with the country on the upper Mississippi. It has been thought that the visitors from the upper Mississippi knew that the French were easily influenced by the prospects of a flourishing trade in furs and in this way they secured a promise from La Salle that he would consider the matter of sending a group of his men to visit in this far away country.

Hennepin Expedition

La Salle was now fully determined to go back to Fort Frontenac for the needed supplies, and he also thought it advisable to send a delegation down the Illinois and up the Mississippi. Three men were selected as the leaders of the expedition. They were Michael Acco, a Frenchman, Antoine Anguel, from Picardy, France, but who was called Picard du Gay, and in addition to these two robust men, the third was Father Louis Hennepin. Father Hennepin wrote a full story of this expedition, but most students of this period of explorations and discoveries in the west, believe that his tendency to magnify himself led him to

overstate some things and fail to give credit to other people where it was due.

La Salle furnished the party with a few European articles with which they were to win the Indians whom they might meet. The departure as on February the 29th, 1680. It was a matter of great interest to the men about Fort Crevecoeur. The priests were present to bless the venture and the Frenchmen in the fort assembled and gave their best wishes. Father Gabriel Ribourde gave the benediction, "Be of good courage and let your heart be comforted."

Let us follow briefly this expedition into the northwest. Father Hennepin himself has written very fully of this adventure. At evening of the first day they met Illinois Indians returning from the south. Hennepin speaks of the large hills, bluffs, along the course of the river and also of the fine timber on the banks. On March the 7th, they passed a trible of Tamaroa Indians some four or five miles above the mouth of the Illinois. They reached the mouth of the river probably on the 8th; he gave a description of the country which is very accurate. Here they remained till March 12th on account of ice in the Mississippi. They proceeded up the river giving good attention to the lay of the land.

Father Hennepin had taken St. Anthony of Padua, Italy, as their patron saint, and so when he reached the falls he called them the falls of St. Anthony. Here he erected a cross and the arms of France. They stopped here only a few days when on the 11th of April they were captured by the Sioux Indians who robbed the Frenchmen of all they had. They were taken farther up the river and kept through the summer. In the fall they were rescued by Daniel Greysolon Du L'Hut (Duluth), a trader of the Lake Superior region. After their release, Father Hennepin and Du Gay returned to France where the former wrote and published a book called "La Louisiane" in 1683. Acco later returned to Peoria and remained.

La Salle in New France

On the first of March, 1680, the next day following the departure of Father Hennepin, La Salle took his leave of Fort Crevecoeur—he started for New France. Ample preparation had been made for his journey. Two well built birch bark canoes were provided. They were loaded with baggage—"blankets, clothing, kettle, hatchet, gun, powder, lead, and skins for moccasins." La Salle had selected six of his best Frenchmen to go with him on this return trip. He also had a Mohegan hunter who should act as guide. Before taking his departure he gave Tonti instructions to take up his time till he should return.

The journey up the Illinois River was a trying one for the river was full of ice and the snow and cold rendered traveling a difficult undertaking. For miles and miles they pulled their

canoes on sledges which they had built. Their nights were spent about a roaring fire in the forest. On the 10th of March they reached the Kaskaskia village where a few weeks before they had taken the corn from the caches. Here they remained several days. They were visited by one of the chiefs of the Illinois Indians named Chassogoac (Chicago), who was very friendly with La Salle. The chief agreed to send to the Frenchmen at Crevecoeur a canoe full of corn which two of the Frenchmen undertook to deliver. La Salle and the chief had a long conference in which the chief approved of La Salle's plans, and pledged support, both moral and physical.

The party proceeded up the Illinois and its branches till they reached the swampy lands of the Calumet region and by the 24th of March they found themselves at Fort Miami at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. At Fort Miami La Salle met two of his men who had been sent back earlier to search for tidings from the Griffin. They said they had been on all sides of Lake Michigan and there was no trace of the ship. They were ordered to proceed to Crevecoeur and join Tonti.

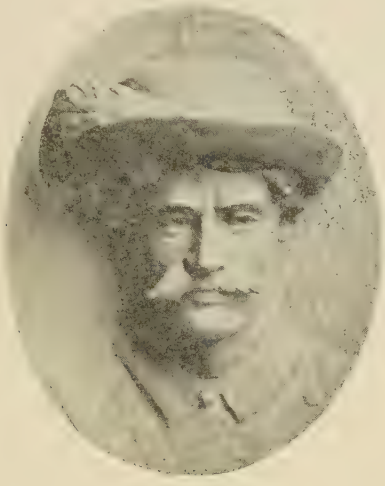
From Fort Miami, La Salle proceeded overland to Detroit. Two men were sent to Mackinac, while he and the other two proceeded under great hardships to Niagara. Here he heard no word from the Griffin, but he does hear of the St. Pierre, loaded with 20,000 francs worth of merchandise. It had foundered in the St. Lawrence and all the cargo was lost. He also found that sixteen of his men had gone back to France and that a portion of his goods at Niagara had been stolen. From Niagara he sent supplies to Fort Crevecoeur with a warning to Tonti that the Iroquois were getting ready for an attack on the Illinois. He passed on to Fort Frontenac. He here recruited more men whom he despatched to Fort Crevecoeur. After putting some business matters in order he returned to Fort Crevecoeur, gathering men and material as he went. When he had gotten his forces all together he had a ship carpenter, a surgeon, three soldiers, two sawyers, two masons, two laborers, and an Indian. There were many discouragements along the way, but by the first of December, 1680, the company was in the vicinity of the Kaskaskia village, on the Illinois. The great village was in ruins. It had been burned and nothing remained but blackened poles upon which hung "ghastly human heads." From here the company went on down the Illinois which was lined on opposite sides with Illinois and Iroquois warriors. When he reached Fort Crevecoeur it too was abandoned and the village of the Peoria Indians nearby was in ruins.

Tonti's Trials

When La Salle left Fort Crevecoeur in March, 1680, he left Tonti in command with a company of fifteen Frenchmen, be-

sides two priests, Fathers Zenobius Membre and Garbriel de la Ribourde. It was not difficult to see that the men who were with Tonti were very unsettled and that they might at any time desert. About the 15th of April two Frenchmen arrived who had been sent from Fort Miami at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. These two men brought discouraging news. They said it was believed the Griffin was lost, and that La Salle was a ruined man financially. The men with Tonti had received no pay for some time and this news of La Salle's probable financial failure added greatly to the unrest.

These two Frenchmen, La Chapelle and Leblanc, brought also a letter from La Salle telling Tonti to proceed to fortify the great rock which we now call Starved Rock, near the great



TONTI

village of the Kaskaskia Indians. This Tonti made ready to do. Taking four men he proceeded up the river to the vicinity of Starved Rock. Tonti had not been gone more than a week or so, when those who were left at Fort Crevecoeur, excepting two, decided to abandon the fort, and after taking most everything of value they began a return journey to Canada. A servant of Tonti and another faithful man hastened to Starved Rock to tell him of the desertion. Tonti immediately despatched two of his four men to inform La Salle of this piece of bad news.

The Iroquois were bitter foes of all Algonquins and the Illinois were of that nation, but there was another element of trouble. The Iroquois looked upon La Salle and the French government as trespassing upon their trade territory. They therefore worked themselves into a pitch of frenzy in order to attack the Illinois, who at that time were in the Kaskaskia

village. There were 500 warriors in the attacking party besides a band of Miamis who were in reality friendly and neighbors to the Kaskaskia. Tonti with three Frenchmen and the two priests were living in the village.

About the middle of September the quiet, lazy village was thrown into consternation by the appearance of a friendly Shawnee, who told them the Iroquois were within a league or so of the Kaskaskia village. There were about 500 Illinois warriors who were ready for the defense of their women and children.

Some young scouts returned with word that a Frenchman was seen among the Iroquois, and from that it grew to the story that La Salle was among the Iroquois. It was next reported that Tonti and his Frenchmen were traitors to the Illinois. Tonti now had a most difficult task to preserve his life and that of his companions. This he was able to do after much effort, both physical and diplomatic.

The women and children in the village were sent down the river to places of safety and the battle was begun. First the Iroquois burned the village of Kaskaskia, dug up the bodies of the dead, scattered their bones over the ground and hung the skulls on the burned poles of the wigwams. There was little real fighting for a couple of weeks. Both armies, one on one side of the river, and one on the other, moved down the Illinois, but in a short time the Illinois Indians began to scatter. It was then that they were attacked and 700 women and children were massacred near the mouth of the Illinois River. The Iroquois now moved about over the country carrying death and destruction in all directions. The conflict was over and the Iroquois returned to their homes in New York.

Tonti, Father Membre and the Frenchmen (Father Ribourde having been brutally murdered by a band of Kickapoo) made their way to the vicinity of Lake Michigan and took shelter among the Pottawattomi. This was the situation when La Salle returned in the late fall or winter of 1680-81.

La Salle was therefore obliged to return to Canada to find Tonti and as many of his men as possible. Various places were visited in the spring and summer of 1681 in search for Tonti. La Salle took advantage of the opportunity that came to him to trade in furs and thus he was enabled to replenish his treasury which was sadly depleted. He spent some time in Green Bay and from there sent out inquiries in all directions. He eventually found Tonti in Mackinaw. After a trip to Quebec to make some business arrangements he returned to the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Here he gathered together eighteen Indians, ten squaws and one child, and twenty-three Frenchmen, making in all fifty-four, and counting La Salle we see there were fifty-

five people ready for another effort to find the mouth of the Mississippi.

By the end of December, 1681, they were all at the Chicago portage. The weather was very severe. They build sledges on which they placed their canoes and luggage and started down the frozen Illinois. When they reached the village of Kaskaskia, it was still in ruins. They reached Crevecoeur on the 25th of January, 1782. The fort was in fair condition. Here they found open water and they constructed canoes for the journey down the Mississippi. They reached the Mississippi on February 6th, but were obliged to remain for several days on account of the great ice floes in the Father of Waters. Nothing unusual occurred as they proceeded down the river till they reached the mouth of the Missouri. Here they halted and heard wonderful stories about this river from the west. A few days later they halted at the great village of the Tamaroas, which was located about three or four miles below the Eades bridge on the Illinois side. The place was called Cahokia. As they proceeded they mentioned objects which enable one familiar with the country to recognize the places along the river. They soon passed the mouth of the Ohio from the east. By the end of February they were in the vicinity of Vicksburg. Here they hunted and built a small fort which the named Prudhomme in honor of one of their number who was lost for nine days. The journey from here to the mouth of the river was uneventful, except that they got acquainted with all the Indians along the river to its mouth.

They reached the mouth of the Mississippi early in April, explored the three channels or mouths and all gathered above the forks of the river to take formal possession of the river and the territory which it drained.

CHAPTER VII

LA SALLE'S UNFINISHED TASK

LaSalle's Vision—The Process Verbal—Stricken With Fever—The Great Fort—LaSalle at Matagorda Bay—Tonti Alone

LaSalle was a far-seeing statesman, and he could not return to his base of operations in Canada till he had figured out that the territory drained by so large a river as the Mississippi was indeed very extensive. He was personally familiar with it from the lakes to the gulf. It was also possible that he knew that its eastern parts lay far east of the Ohio. He also knew from the size of the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, as well as of the Arkansas and the Red, that the western and northwestern slopes extended hundreds of miles toward the setting sun. He had become so familiar with its resources that he could easily say it was a region of great wealth. It was therefore his duty to his King to take formal possession of the vast region in the name of his Sovereign. He probably well knew that he had passed through sections that had been visited and claimed by the Spanish. But it was the part of wisdom from the Frenchman's point of view to ignore completely the claims which Spain or any other country might have on the lower part of the great river and its adjacent territory.

"His sagacious eye discerned the magnificent resources of the country. As he floated down its flood; as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasa bluff; as he raised the cross by the Arkansas; as he planted the arms of France and the cross near the Gulf of Mexico—he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that was coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime, he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana. This was the proudest period of success of Louis XIV."

LaSalle's Vision

In making up his party in Canada for this important expedition, LaSalle did not forget that he would have need of some one in official relation to the government. He therefore secured the services of one Jaques De La Metairie, notary of Fort Frontenac, Canada. LaSalle saw how much weight would be added to the claim of his King over the interior of the continent if all his work in reaching the mouth of the Mississippi could be attested by an officer of the King. De La Metairie was therefore directed

by LaSalle to keep a careful record of the various incidents which took place along the journey from the lakes to the gulf. This he did.

Before returning, LaSalle assembled the entire company on a high bank along the river and there erected a column to which was attached the arms of France, wrought from a copper kettle; and inscription reading: *"Louis Le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre, regne le ge Avril, 1682."* LaSalle proclaimed that he took possession of the Mississippi and all the land it drained in the name of his King. A cross was affixed to one of the trees and the Te Deum was chanted. At the foot of the tree holding the cross was planted a leaden plate upon which was a Latin inscription giving a brief account of the discovery of the river and its mouth and reciting that LaSalle and his company were the first white people to traverse the Mississippi.

De La Metairie then presented the "Proces Verbal," which was signed by himself and twelve others, among whom was LaSalle, Tonti and Father Zenobe (Membre), and Jean Michel, surgeon. The following is a portion of this document:

PROCESS VERBAL

"Of the taking possession of Louisiana, at the Mouth of the Mississippi, by the Sieur De La Salle, on the 9th of April, 1682.

Jaques De La Metairie, Notary of Fort Frontenac, in New France, commissioned to exercise the said function of notary during the voyage to Louisiana, in North America, by M. de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac for the King, and commandant of the said discovery by the commission of his Majesty given at St. Germain, on the 12th day of May, 1678.

"To all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know, that having been requested by the said Sieur de la Salle to deliver to him an act, signed by us and by the witnesses therein named, of possession by him taken of the country of Louisiana, near the three mouths of the River Colbert, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the 9th of April, 1682.

"In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis, the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre Fourteenth of that name, and of his heirs, and the successor of his crown, we, the aforesaid notary, have delivered the said act to the said Sieur de la Salle, the tenor whereof follows:

* * * * * * * * *

"An hour afterwards, we came to the Village of Maheouala, lately destroyed, and containing dead bodies and marks of blood. Two leagues below this place we encamped. We continued our voyage till the 6th, when we discovered three channels by which the River Colbert discharges itself into the sea. We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from

its mouth. On the 7th, M. de la Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonty likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep. On the 8th, we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the north Pole was here about 27.° Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

* * * * * * * * *

Louis Le Grand Roi De France Et De Navarre, Regne;
Le Neuvieme, Avril, 1682.

"The whole party, under arms, chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine salvum fac Regem*; and then after a salute of firearms and cries of Vive le Roi, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said, with a loud voice, in French: "In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eight-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbours, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chickachas, and this with the consent of the Chaouanons, Chikachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississipi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadauessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance, either by ourselves or by others in our behalf; as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that

can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law.

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of Vive le Roi, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:

* * * * * * * * *

"After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the Vexilla and the Domine salvum fac Regem were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of Vive le Roi.

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

"La Metairie,
Notary.

"De LaSalle,
"P. Zenobe, Recollect Missionary,
"Henry De Tonty,
"Francois de Boisrondet,
"Jean Bourdon,
"Sieur d'Autry,
"Jaques Cauchois,
"Pierre You,
"Gilles Meucret,
"Jean Michel, Surgeon,
"Jean Dulignon,
"Nocolas de la Salle."

Stricken With Fever

On the 10th of April, 1782, LaSalle and his company turned their faces toward the north, and began the hard battle against the current of the mighty Mississippi. But LaSalle, with some close friends, pushed ahead more rapidly and reached Fort Prudhomme, on the Chickasa bluffs, where a burning fever forced him to abandon his journey. He occupied a cabin he had built on the downward trip. He had no means of relief and a messenger was sent down the river to urge the surgeon, who was with the second section, to hasten to the relief of LaSalle. This was done, but when they reached Fort Prudhomme it was

decided that Tonti, with the main body of the company, should proceed May 6th to Mackinaw to care for the interests of LaSalle.

Tonti, with several of the party, made his way up the Mississippi, and along the Illinois and reached Mackinaw about the middle of July, 1682. Tonti met with many obstacles on his return journey, but he was a real diplomat and was able to quiet his foes, and to strengthen his friendships among the Indians.

LaSalle was obliged to remain at Fort Prudhomme till the early part of September, 1682—he says forty days. Father Zenobe Membre ministered to him and nursed him back to partial health. They left Fort Prudhomme about the first of August. They proceeded up the Mississippi and up the Illinois. At Fort Crevecoeur LaSalle saw his ship partly burned. He left some of his men here to hold the place for their master. LaSalle reached Fort Miami, at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, late in August. In September he reached Mackinaw, where Tonti awaited him. Already he had received word that he had active enemies in Canada. The following from Parkman will give us some knowledge of the situation at this time. It is a quotation from a letter which LaSalle wrote to a friend in France in the fall of 1682:

"Though my discovery is made, and I have descended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, I can not send you this year either an account of my journey or a map. On the way back, I was attacked by a deadly disease which kept me in danger of my life for forty days, and left me so weak that I could think of nothing for four months after. (The surgeon, Jean Michel, had bled LaSalle to counteract the fever.) I have hardly strength enough now to write my letters—besides, my presence is absolutely necessary in the place to which I am going. I pray you, my dear sir, to give me once more all the help you can. I have great enemies, who have succeeded in all they have undertaken. I do not pretend to resist them, but only to justify myself, so that I can pursue by sea the plans I have begun here by land."

LaSalle here acknowledges his inability to contend with his enemies in New France, but hopes to justify himself before the King and secure his permission to reach the Illinois country by sea and the lower Mississippi River and thus avoid the necessity of reaching Fort St. Louis by way of the St. Lawrence and the lakes.

LaSalle was desirous of reporting to the King of France in person, but that was impossible at this time, and he therefore deputized Father Membre to proceed to France with a full account of the discovery of the great river and its mouth. The good priest made his way to Quebec and sailed for France in the same ship which carried Count Frontenac to his native land. Father Membre said of his work in this new world: "I can not

say that my little efforts produced certain fruits. With regard to these nations perhaps some one by a secret effort of grace has profited; this, God only knows. All we have done is to see the state of these nations, and to open the way to the Gospel, and to missionaries; having baptized only two infants whom I saw at the point of death and who in fact died in our presence."

In the fall of 1682 there were reports of an invasion of the Iroquois into the Illinois country. LaSalle sent Tonti to the south end of Lake Michigan with a small band of soldiers, and wrote to the governor of New France, at Quebec, asking for arms and ammunition for the defense of the Illinois country. LaSalle himself went into the Illinois country in December, 1682, and found Tonti at Fort Crevecoeur. It has been stated that the mouth of the Illinois River had been considered as a good place to make the center of his authority in the Illinois country, but finally the region about Starved Rock was selected, and Tonti, LaSalle and their followers of probably two score ascended the Illinois to what afterward came to be known as Starved Rock. This region had been greatly praised by Joliet and Marquette, and both Tonti and LaSalle have given extravagant descriptions of it. Tonti says it is as charming a country as one can see anywhere. The beautiful landscape, the abundance of animals—buffalo, deer, wild turkeys, and smaller game—make it one of the most desirable places he had ever seen. The river, the islands, the falls, the alternation of groves and prairies, gives great variety and beauty to the outlook from the many elevations that abound along the Illinois. These descriptions had reached the barren regions about Quebec and also had been repeated enthusiastically in France, and as a result there were jealous eyes looking toward the new center of commerce and political power which was to grow up about the far famed Fort St. Louis.

The Great Fort

The new center of power in the Illinois country was to be marked by one of the most picturesque and easily defended forts of all those which La Salle had up to this time constructed. The location is familiar to all the school children of Illinois. It stands on the south side of the river some eight or nine miles below Ottawa. The bluff is more than 125 feet high and is flanked by three precipitous sides. One faces the river and is practically a perpendicular wall from the water's edge to the top of the bluff. Here the stronghold was to be constructed. The flat top is more than an acre in extent and is approached from the side opposite the river, and here only with difficulty.

The fort was constructed in the winter of 1682-3, and was finished by the middle of March. There was built along the south edge of the flat top of the rock a palisade of logs ten inches in diameter and twenty-two feet high. A palisade of fifteen feet

in height enclosed the other three sides, and in addition a parapet of wooden logs was built around the edge of the flat top and just within the palisade. These palisades bore heavy wooden spikes with iron tips as a further safe-guard against the dreaded Iroquois. With the palisades were quite a few houses. Some were used as dwellings, some for store houses, and one was a chapel. On the completion of the fort sometime in March, 1683, the royal ensign of France was unfurled. This must have been a proud moment for La Salle. Here he was in the center of a great agricultural region; rich valleys and prairies, with timber, water, rocks, and wild game. Here he felt could be built up a powerful stronghold for the King, and a great commercial center for himself. Fort St. Louis was midway between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

But unfortunately La Salle's enemies were beginning to appear, and among these was no less a personage than the governor of Canada, La Febvre de la Barre, who had succeeded Count Frontenac. La Barre had been instructed by the King to grant no more permits to explorers to go into the West. It was the King's notion that the French would better stay in Canada and cultivate the soil. However, the new governor was directed to allow La Salle to proceed with his enterprises, unless it should appear that these might work to the disadvantage of the interest of the King. Le Barre was scarcely installed in his office before he began to place himself in opposition to La Salle. The latter did not know that the new governor was against him, and he therefore wrote to him asking for favors and telling the new governor that there were men in Canada who would do all they could to injure La Salle's cause. Many of La Salle's men would be detained in Canada and thus the plans which La Salle wished to carry out would be frustrated.

All through the spring of 1683, Tonti as the agent of La Salle was going about through all the country inviting the Indians to come to Fort St. Louis and settle as the best mode of protecting themselves against the Iroquois. Tonti found that La Salle's enemies were busy and it was with great difficulty that their work could be overcome. However, in the course of the summer of 1683, thousands of Indians were gathered about Fort St. Louis. The Kaskaskia Indians now returned to their village on the opposite side of the river and all along the Illinois were settled the tribes and sub-tribes of the Algonquins. La Salle reported to his King that he had under his care and control 4,000 warriors which would mean at least 20,000 souls. La Salle now began to give out grants of land and everything points toward a successful enterprise. What he most needed was Frenchmen who were sympathetic with his great undertaking. The governor of Canada had detained several of La Salle's agents who had gone to Montreal for supplies which were

badly needed at Fort St. Louis. In the mid-summer of 1683 La Salle in desperation went to the Chicago portage and from there, June 4th, wrote a long letter to La Barre asking his co-operation in holding Fort St. Louis for the King against the threatened attacks of the Iroquois.

In the summer of 1683 Le Barre sent one Durantaye with authority to make friends with the Indians and to arrest La Salle if the reports were found to be true that he was setting himself up as a potentate among the Indians of the interior. Le Barre also took the ground that La Salle had no right to be in the Illinois country since his patent only lacked a few days of expiring.

In August, 1683, La Salle bade his faithful followers at Fort St. Louis goodby, and took up his journey to Quebec and thence to France to secure the consent of the King to further plans which he had. Tonti was left in charge of the fort and of the twenty Frenchmen to whom La Salle had granted lands about the fort as well as the savages. At Chicago La Salle wrote a letter to his friends at Fort St. Louis and told them he would return in the spring of 1684. Shortly after the departure of La Salle, Tonti was ordered to turn Fort St. Louis over to a representative of Le Barre and to report at Quebec. Here he was held virtually a prisoner till 1685 when by order of the King he was restored to the command of Fort St. Louis.

La Salle at Matagorda Bay

La Salle reached France in due season and presented an account of all he had done and plans of what he wished to do, to the King, who was deeply interested in them. The new plans of La Salle provided for an expedition on a large scale to come to the Illinois country by way of the mouth of the Mississippi River. Bases of operation for the settling and developing of the interior of the country were to be made near the mouth of the Mississippi River and at points along its course. In this way the great central station, Fort St. Louis, could easily communicate with France without having to come or to go through Canada. In addition it was the purpose of the French Government to occupy a port on the Gulf of Mexico to prevent the Spaniards from interfering with French maritime rights in that region. Everything seemed to work to the advantage of La Salle and a very generous arrangement was devised for the return of La Salle.

Four vessels were granted to La Salle, a hundred soldiers were enrolled for the expedition, mechanics, laborers, volunteers, burgers, and some gentlemen. A new thing in French colonization in the new world was the presence in this expedition of several married women, as well as young unmarried women who looked forward to certain matrimony. There were also present three priests of St. Sulpice, and three Recollects. One war ves-

sel of thirty-six guns, another vessel of six guns together with a store vessel and another called a Ketch—four vessels and nearly 400 men.

The expedition seemed destined for failure from the beginning. La Salle and Beaujeu, the naval commander, quarreled while the expedition was being fitted out, and considerable illfortune attended the departure of the fleet from Rochelle in July, 1684. The two men quarreled all the way across the Atlantic. La Salle suffered a return of the fever such as had attacked him on his return up the Mississippi, and being unable to give directions, the naval commander did many things to the detriment of the expedition. On entering the Gulf of Mexico, they were unable to find the mouth of the Mississippi and so coasted West to Matagorda Bay where they landed in the spring of 1685. One of the ships had been captured by the Spanish and another was wrecked in the Matagorda Bay. They built a fort and began the exploration of the coast to determine where they were. They landed and commenced a settlement. Sickness of a serious nature was common and before fall there were thirty graves in the new cemetery. The Indians were very hostile and the expedition seemed doomed from the day they landed. La Salle went on frequent exploring expeditions.

Having failed on these exploring parties to find the Mississippi River, the decision was for a band to undertake the task of reaching Canada. La Salle took a small band of seventeen with him, and left the remainder to keep the fort till the exploring party should return. This was in the spring of 1687. The band proceeded with some difficulty in traveling and when out some days a conspiracy was hatched proposing the assassination of La Salle. This was accomplished. Parkman says the body was not buried but left in the grass for the birds of prey. The conspirators returned to the fort where they took control and ruled with a high hand. Eventually the twenty or more persons scattered here and there, some finding their way back to France and some into the Illinois country.

Tonti Alone

Tonti, upon his reinstatement as commander at Fort St. Louis, made haste to put the fort in a state of defense and to urge loyalty on the part of the men who had received grants of land in that vicinity. The Indians had scattered and had lost interest in the management of the fort since there were no European goods to exchange for furs. During the absence of Tonti as a virtual prisoner at Quebec, the governor of Fort St. Louis, one De Baugy, permitted misunderstandings and differences to arise between the Illinois and the Miami. Out of these contentions came actual warfare between these tribes, and when Tonti arrived in June, 1685, he was under the necessity

of pacifying these warring factions. To do so required all his strength and skill in diplomacy, beside the paying out of more than a thousand dollars to secure terms of peace between the two tribes.

In the fall of 1685 disquieting rumors began to fill the air concerning the expedition which La Salle was making to the mouth of the Mississippi. Tonti was immediately alive to the interests of his chief and dispatched reliable Indians to the lower Mississippi to obtain any news of the expedition which might be had; he himself went immediately to Mackinac, hoping to obtain the latest information concerning La Salle. At the same time he hoped to counteract the influence of La Barre, who was doing all he could to prevent goods and supplies from reaching Fort St. Louis. Here he learned positively that La Salle had sailed from France to seek the mouth of the Mississippi. This was good news, but he was made to rejoice also greatly on learning that his bitter enemy, La Barre, the governor of Canada, had been recalled by the King and that the Marquis de Denonville had replaced him and that he was already taking steps to further the good work which the King understood Tonti was doing at Fort St. Louis. A letter written by Denonville to Tonti was then on its way to the fort. While yet at Mackinac, Tonti heard more disquieting news about La Salle. He therefore hastened to Fort St. Louis in the hope that the Indians whom he had sent to the lower Mississippi had returned with news of La Salle. They did return in February, 1686, but with no word from La Salle.

Tonti therefore decided to make a trip to the Gulf of Mexico in search of word from his chief. The trip down the Illinois and the Mississippi was full of interest to Tonti, because three years ago he had descended these streams in search of the mouth of the river. He spent some days at the mouth of the Mississippi, but could find no trace of La Salle. On his return he passed the place where La Salle three years ago had erected the column holding the coat of arms of France and another upon which the cross was placed. The elements and time had overthrown these monuments and Tonti was moved to restore them by placing them in a more elevated spot on the bank of the river.

On his return to Fort St. Louis he found preparations going on for a joint attack upon the Iroquois. Denonville was to furnish two or three thousand soldiers while Tonti was to join with all the warriors he could raise around the fort. Tonti was able to enlist about 400 or 500 Indians. From about Green Bay and Mackinac and out of Canada came French volunteers and Indians to the number of several hundred. These forces all met on Lake Ontario July 10, 1687. The combined force of probably 3,000 fighting men invaded the land of the Senecas

and after a savage battle the latter were driven from their homes which the invading army laid waste. In this battle three French captains won great praise for themselves. Denonville, in his dispatches, mentioned with great praise Tonti, Duluth, and Durantaye, each of whom commanded separate divisions of the invading army. The invaders remained in the land of the Senecas for a week and destroyed everything which would be of value to the Senecas when they returned to the place where they had formerly lived. The invading army dispersed, each division returning to its old haunts.

As Tonti and his contingent were nearing Fort St. Louis from the war, a group of five men were slowly making their way up the Mississippi and the Illinois. These were "Abbe Jean Cavelier, La Salle's eldest brother; his nephew, Father Anastasius Douay, a Recollect of the Franciscan Order; Teissier, a mariner; and Henri de Joutel, historian. As they proceeded up the Mississippi and the Illinois they observed the physical features and described them very accurately. They approached Fort St. Louis about the middle of September, 1687.

These five men were the remnants of a band of followers of La Salle who escaped assassination at the hands of the conspirators who had killed their chief. They banded themselves together under the leadership of Abbe Cavelier, and determined to reach Fort St. Louis. They agreed that they would not reveal the death of La Salle to any one at Fort St. Louis. They were joyfully received by Sier de Bellefontaine, a lieutenant of Tonti; the latter had not yet returned from the attack on the Iroquois.

The five travelers were royally treated by the people at the fort. When asked if La Salle was coming to Fort St. Louis, they evaded the question by saying they left him on the way and that they were not advised as to his plans, but that all was well and that they thought it was his intention to come soon to Fort St. Louis. At this time the Jesuit Father Allouez was at the fort in ill health. He was visited by the two priests and Joutel. He was very uneasy and inquired particularly about La Salle. When told that La Salle might come to the fort at any time he is said to have been visibly agitated.

Abbe Cavelier was desirous of proceeding to Quebec where he wished to take passage for France before the winter weather should arrive, so he remained only three days at Fort St. Louis, whence he proceeded on his journey. His party reached Chicago, but on account of the weather conditions, they returned to Fort St. Louis about the 7th of October. Tonti returned from his war on the Iroquois on October the 27th and gave Cavelier's party a cordial greeting. Winter came on rapidly and with it the coming to the fort of several Frenchmen, who were friends of Tonti. It is said that game was plentiful and that there was an abundance of nuts, acorns, and other forms

of forest foods. The winter was spent at the fort much as it might have been spent in the homeland about a castle in the middle ages. "Merry companies sallied forth upon the frozen river at daybreak, drawing light sledges, which they brought back to the fort at nightfall laden with deer. Of our living there was no complaint to make, except that we had nothing but water to drink." The day time was occupied by hunting parties and the nights at the fort by parties about the cherry log fires in the huts within the palisade. "Within, soldier and priest, trapper and native, mingled together and related tales of foray and ambuscade, of stormy ocean voyages and weary journeys through the wilderness. Without, the snow lay deed on all the land of the Illinois, and the nearest white men were at the little mission at the head of Green Bay.

In the spring of 1688 the parties which had wintered in the fort began to break up. Cavelier was anxious for fear the truth would come to light about the death of La Salle. Allouez was as anxious to get away as was Cavelier. Cavelier made his way to Lake Michigan, thence to Mackinac, and thence to Quebec; from here he sailed to France late in the fall of 1688.

Tonti was left at Fort St. Louis hoping each day of a long summer to hear something of La Salle. But late in the fall of 1688 a Frenchman and two natives arrived at the fort and revealed the truth about La Salle. Tonti was indignant that Abbe Cavelier should do him the great injustice to tell him indirectly that La Salle was still alive and well. He immediately planned an expedition to rescue the remnant of La Salle's colonists on Matagorda Bay. After undergoing many hardships he came to an Indian village probably in what is now Louisiana where the natives told him the story of the death of La Salle at the hand of conspirators. They also told of the death of the conspirators at the hands of natives. Tonti went further toward the mouth of the river but eventually returned to Fort St. Louis.

Tonti was now alone in the world so far as early associations were concerned. He remained at Fort St. Louis, but his interests could not be protected now as they once could under the grant to La Salle. Denonville, governor of Canada, is not the friend to Tonti that he at first appeared to be. The governor made unfavorable reports to the King as to Tonti's pretensions at the fort and the King replied that Tonti's control in that section might be annulled. Yet in 1690 the King granted Fort St. Louis to Tonti and La Forest, formerly a lieutenant to La Salle. Here these two carried on a fur trade for several years which must have been at times very remunerative. La Forest operated at what is now Chicago.

When La Salle departed from Matagorda Bay to go to his fort on the Illinois River, he left some thirty colonists at that place. This was in 1687. They had a fort and cannon with such

provision and equipment as had been saved from the wreck of one of their vessels in the harbor. Life was monotonous and insecure as they were surrounded by the most savage Indians, and besides they were on Spanish soil. The Spanish government sent out as many as four ships from Vera Cruz to search for this colony, but the distance of the settlement inland from the coast prevented those on the ships from locating them. But in 1689 the Viceroy of Mexico sent Alonzo de Leon into the Texas country to find and capture this French settlement as intruders upon Spanish soil. After days of marching under the guidance of a French prisoner, they espied the settlement. There was no flag flying, no sentries posted, no living beings to be seen. The proud Spanish horsemen rushed through the gates of the palisade to find everything in ruins—broken boxes, rusty kettles, ruined barrels, guns and household articles scattered in all directions. Books were torn and trampled in the mud, and on the prairie near the corpses of men and women. The Indians stood about in utter unconcern and in apparent ignorance of what had happened. But there were present two Frenchmen who were concerned in the murder of La Salle who were dressed as the Indians who stood about. These were taken into custody by the Spanish commander. They explained that some three months ago a band of Indians savagely attacked the French colonists and killed most of them. Some half dozen persons, including two young girls from Paris, were spared. The two Frenchmen told Leon that they came to the ruined village and buried fourteen of the dead bodies. These two Frenchmen were sent to Spain as captives and the Indians were forced to give up all their French prisoners to the Spanish commander. Thus perished La Salle s colony on Matagorda Bay.

CHAPTER VIII

PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS

THE FIRST KASKASKIA—BILOXI FOUNDED—THE NEW KASKASKIA —LOUISIANA GRANTED TO CROZAT—THE WESTERN COUNTRY —FORT CHARTRES—RESUME

The Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin was established at the village of Kaskaskia across the Illinois from Starved Rock, Thursday, April 11th, 1675, by Father James Marquette, S. J. On that day he said Mass and formally gave the mission the above name, and on Sunday the 14th, which was Easter Sunday, he said Mass the second time. On taking his departure, Marquette promised he would return or another would come in his place. The records are not continuous but it is clear that Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., was sent to the Immaculate Conception where he arrived April 27, 1677. Upon his arrival there he erected a cross 25 feet high and preached to hundreds perhaps thousands of people. He remained there till the early winter of 1679 when he took his departure a few days before La Salle reached the fort.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS

Father James Gravier, S. J., succeeded Father Allouez and had charge of the mission until 1706. Rev. Sebastian Rale, S. J., was in the mission temporarily before Father Gravier came. This was from 1693 to 1695. Father Gravier was recalled and two missionaries, Fathers Pierre Francis and Julien Binnitau also ministered to the mission at Kaskaskia and at a new mission, Angel Guardian, at Chicago, from 1696 to 1699.

In 1688 James II was driven from the English throne. He fled to France where Louis XIV not only gave him refuge but championed his cause, and declared war on the English with the purpose of restoring James to his throne. In 1689 William of Orange and his wife Mary, the daughter of James II, were crowned King and Queen of England. The war between the French and the English continued from 1689 to 1697. During this war not so much attention was given to the new acquisition, Louisiana, in the New World. La Salle had been murdered in 1687, and the miserable remnant of his colony at Matagorda Bay had been ruthlessly massacred by the Indians, and the Spanish and later the English were jealously planning to drive the French from the Lower Mississippi Valley.

But the French government was too absorbed in European politics, court intrigues, financial difficulties, and foreign wars to pay much attention to its American possessions until it was too late; monopolies and official corruption, both at home and in the colonies, prevented healthy growth, and emigration was not made attractive. Besides, the French people loved "La Belle France" too much to emigrate in large numbers. The pliant yielding to circumstances and the courteous tact that recommended the French to the Indians, sprung from traits of character that tended to disqualify them for overcoming the greatest of difficulties. There were too few Champlains and La Salles.

In 1699 a new figure appears upon the scene at the mouth of the Mississippi. This was Sieur le Moyne d' Iberville who was born in Montreal at the early date of 1661. His early life was spent in the Canadian wilds, and at the age of fourteen he was sent to France and was trained and educated as a naval and military commander. He commanded a frigate at the age of twenty-one, reduced two strong English forts on Hudson Bay in 1695-7, and in 1698 was commissioned by the French government to open communications between France and the interior of Louisiana. This commission conferred authority to do the very thing that La Salle gave up his life to accomplish only a dozen years before.

Iberville arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi with a colony in the summer of 1699. He searched dilligently for some sign of La Salle's lost colony but gave up in despair of finding any trace of it. He ascended the Mississippi in two boats. He was accompanied by his brother, Bienville, a young man not yet twenty years old, and by a Franciscan monk who had traversed the river with La Salle some years before. On reaching an Indian village Iberville was given a letter by a chief which Tonti had written to La Salle in 1686 while he was in search of La Salle's colony.

Biloxi Founded.

Not finding a suitable place to found a settlement, Iberville returned to the gulf and coasting east established himself at Biloxi, some forty miles west of the mouth of Mobile Bay. He took possession in the name of his king of all the coast from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the regions about Pensacola.

The news of the activity of Iberville about the mouth of the Mississippi soon found its way to the Kaskaskia village and to Fort St. Louis. Tonti was impatient of his partnership with Le Forest. The Indians had all scattered from the locality of the fort, but there were yet about twenty French-Canadians who were cultivating their grants about the fort. Monette, in Volume I of the Valley of the Mississippi, points out that the French-Canadians were already moving south and west toward

more fertile soil and more moderate climate. Word that the French were settling at the mouth of the Mississippi only intensified the general unrest, and accelerated the movement toward the south.

The New Kaskaskia

The great numbers at Kaskaskia village to whom Father Marquette preached in 1675 had dwindled to a few hundred if not to a few score. The Kaskaskia tribe and the Peorias had separated and even the Kaskaskias had divided up and certain groups had gone south. In 1699 Father Gravier, who had ministered

SUSPENSION BRIDGE ACROSS THE KASKASKIA AT CARLYLE

to the Mission at Kaskaskia, was recalled to Mackinaw. In 1700 he was sent to the mouth of the Mississippi. When he approached the Kaskaskia village September 8, 1700, he found them all astir making ready to depart for the mouth of the Mississippi. The mission at that time was in charge of Father Pierre Gabriel Marest, S. J. Father Gravier was displeased that the village was to be abandoned but his pleadings to the savages to remain were in vain. He seems to have traveled with them four days and then to have gone forward with Father Marest. When they reached the village of Cahokia they halted for rest and refreshment, as Father Marest was quite ill. Father Gravier proceeded on his way to the mouth of the Mississippi. The body of Kaskaskians came on apace and when they approached the junction of the present Kaskaskia River with the Mississippi, they seem to have crossed the narrowest

place, a sort of portage, and settled between the two rivers. The new place of settlement came to be known as Kaskaskia, and the small river also took on the name Kaskaskia, which it has kept to this day.

It is very certain that Tonti abandoned Fort St. Louis in the year of 1700. Bancroft says he was accompanied by twenty Canadian residents of Illinois. It may be easily conjectured that these twenty Canadians are the same twenty who held grants at the fort and who, when their master prepared to go to the new center of French interests at the mouth of the Mississippi, desired also to move to the new settlement.

A war raged between England and France from 1702 to 1713 known as the "War of the Spanish Succession." In America we know it was "Queen Anne's War." During this war the French must have been so occupied that they gave little attention to their colonists in the Mississippi Valley. The Illinois settlements were allowed to go their way and care for themselves. Father Pinet established a mission at the village of Cahokia just below East St. Louis, probably about the same time that the Kaskaskia Indians arrived at the mouth of the present Kaskaskia River. Kaskaskia and Cahokia were therefore the first permanent settlements in Illinois. Fort St. Louis was abandoned, and Peoria was never occupied continuously by white people in the seventeenth century. The war called Queen Anne's war was brought to a close by a treaty in 1713. When it was seen in France that the war would end there was a revival of interest in the matter of colonization and trade in the Mississippi valley. Wonderful stories were coming to France as to the wealth of this new religion.

Louisiana Granted to Crozat

The king came to the conclusion that it would be an easier task for an individual to protect and develop the Louisiana country than for the government to do so, since the government had been almost continually in war for the past quarter of a century. In casting about for such a man as La Salle, he selected one Sieur Anthony Crozat, a man of large financial experience, a generous minded man, and one who had done so much for the king that Louis felt he owed Crozat a debt which he could pay in no better way than to grant him Louisiana. Accordingly on the 14th of September, 1712, the king caused to be issued to Sieur Anthony Crozat a commercial patent covering all business transactions within the Louisiana Territory for a period of fifteen years. There is a sort of preamble which reviews the history of the territory since the days of La Salle, and then the document proceeds: "We have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to Sieur Anthony Crozat, our councillor, secretary of the household, crown, and

revenue, to whom we intrust the execution of this project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his zeal, and the singular knowledge he has acquired in maritime commerce, encourage us to hope for as good success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry enterprises he has gone upon, and which have procured to our Kingdom great quantities of gold and silver—We by these presents signed by our hand, have appointed and do appoint, the said Sieur Crozat, solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico and by the lands of the English Carolina, all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore Massacre; the river of St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea, as far as the Illinois; together with the River St. Philip, heretofore called the Missouri, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache, with all of the countries, territories, lakes, within land, and the rivers which fall directly, or indirectly, into that part of the river St. Louis."

Then follows the Articles, Abridged:

All lands, countries, streams, rivers and islands shall remain under the name of the government of Louisiana, which shall be dependent upon the government of New France, to which it is subordinate.

Crozat is permitted to search for, open, and dig all sorts of mines veins, and minerals throughout all of Louisiana and transport the same to France for a period of fifteen year.

Crozat is to pay to the King's treasury the fifth part of all gold, silver, or other valuables transported to France, and one-tenth of all that is kept in the Louisiana country.

He is also permitted to search for precious stones and pearls, paying one-fifth of the valuables found to the king.

All mines, veins, or other deposits shall revert to the king if the grantee fails for three years to work the same.

Edicts ordinances, and customs and the usages of the government of Paris shall be the laws and customs in the said country of Louisiana.

Dated September 14, 1712.

LOUIS.

Crozat was to bear all expenses and run all risks. The grant was only a grant of the commerce and did not include any control of lands so far as making grants to individuals was concerned. The territory included in general all the territory which is drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. Today we understand that the wealth of any country is in its soil, but in all the planning of King and Crozat there is no word about cultivation of the soil. There was, of course, a temporary profit in furs, but even the fur trade was held as only a makeshift in comparison to the wealth which would be derived from the mines

of gold, silver, and precious stones—to say nothing of the wealth of the pearls to be gathered on all hands.

Crozat came to the Gulf of Mexico and soon associated with himself La Motte Cadillac who at that time was governor of the Louisiana Territory. These two men had great achievements to their credit. Cadillac was a famous pioneer of New France and had governed the station at Mackinaw and later founded Detroit and was now in a position of power and great responsibility. Crozat had astonished all Europe with his financial success. If there was any wealth in the Louisiana country these two men controlled the agencies of its production—one the business sagacity, the other the authority to manipulate political power. Bancroft tells how two pieces of silver ore had been left at Kaskaskia with the story that they had been taken from the mines in the Illinois Country. Crozat and Cadillac rushed from place to place to investigate wild rumors about gold and silver. They sent men on investigating tours and did locate wealth in the lead, copper, and iron deposits within the limits of their grant.

Crozat had brought many men into the territory with the expectation of digging precious metals. Not finding employment along these lines, they had taken up various kinds of work. Some had gone to cultivating the soil, some had gone into the fur trade, some to trading with English adventurers who came into the territory. Cadillac died and was later succeeded by Bienville, brother to Iberville, the first governor of Louisiana. The new governor and Crozat did not work harmonously and after complete discouragement, and finding he had lost 125,000 livres, he resigned his charter to the crown. At that time there were not more than 380 whites on the lower Mississippi and about 320 in the Illinois Country.

The Western Country

Crozat surrendered his charter in 1717. This was apparently a very fortunate time, for all France was stirred by the presence of a great financier in Paris who brought forth schemes whereby France might pay her debt of 3,000,000,000 livres. At the death of Louis XIV in 1715 his grandson, a lad of five years, came nominally to the throne under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The regent was greatly troubled and was ready for any suggestions which would relieve him of his financial embarrassment.

John Law was a Scotchman, the son of a banker in Edinburgh. He had studied finance, and was a theorist of the first order. His theory was that if a nation is financially embarrassed it is from lack of a circulating medium—make more money. He came into France a short time before Crozat relinquished his charter. Law secured the right to organize a great bank which

for a while seemed to present the means by which the nation's debts might be liquidated.

When Crozat relinquished his charter the Louisiana Territory was granted to the Western Company, a great scheme worked out by John Law, the banker. This Western Company was able to sell its stock to the people of France and "although the union of the bank with the hazards of a commercial company was an omen of the fate of the system, public credit seemed restored as if by a miracle." Three great undertakings to develop the Louisiana region had been championed respectively by La Salle, Iberville, and Crozat; and yet while each had practically failed the enthusiasm in France was not a whit abated. "The vision of a fertile empire, with its plantations, manors, cities, and busy wharves, a monopoly of commerce throughout all French North America, the certain products of the richest silver mines and mountains of gold, were blended in the French mind into one boundless promise of untold treasure."

In the early part of 1718 three ships with 800 emigrants cast anchor near Dauphine Island at the mouth of Mobile Bay. In the same summer Bienville selected the spot where New Orleans now is and had begun to lay out the city. One of the things of prime interest to the new comers was to establish the claims of France as far east and west along the coast as they could. They persistently claimed the Rio Grande as the western limit of the Louisiana Territory, and likewise Pensacola Bay as the eastern limit.

Of the 800 emigrants who landed on Dauphine Island in the fall of 1818, many died, some deserted to the English in the Carolinas, and others dispersed among the Indians. A few were planted in colonies along the lower Mississippi.

Let us now return to the Illinois Country. Kaskaskia, near the mouth of the Kaskaskia River was the center from which missionaries went out to other parts. Fathers Bineteau, Pinet, Marest, and Mermet, all gave their time and their energies to the work of the church in the south end of what is now Illinois. Pinet established a mission at Cahokia, probably in the fall of 1699. It is said he was so popular as a preacher that his chapel was insufficient to hold all that came. Father Bineteau on one occasion accompanied the Kaskaskia Indians on a hunting expedition in the country of "upland plains of the Mississippi" where he died. Father Pinet died soon after.

The best information as to the life at the Kaskaskia village from 1700 to about 1718 is indeed unsatisfactory, but there are some things which we know for a certainty. The church records of the Immaculate Conception were recently in the possession of the resident priest on the island of Kaskaskia. The record of baptisms has been translated and appears in the publica-

tions of the State Historical Library, Volume No. 9, page 394. In these records, which reach back to 1692, we can tell fairly well who was priest in charge at various dates:

March 20, 1692——James Gravier
May 13, 1697——Julian Bineteau
December 7, 1699——Gabriel Marest
April 13, 1703——James Gravier
November 14, 1703——Gabriel Marest
January 19, 1707——J. P. Mermet
September 9, 1709——Gabriel Marest
April 16, 1712——J. M. de Viller
November 24, 1712——Jo Mermet
June 17, 1719——Le Boullenger, S. J.
Chaplain of the Troops
July 19, 1720——De Beaubois

This priest was in charge from July, 1720, to July, 1721.

As early as 1711 Father Marest left Kaskaskia on Good Friday for Peoria which he reached twelve days later. Here he took charge of the mission but it does not appear that there were any white people then living in Peoria. The Peoria settlement never seemed to prosper as many other settlements did.

In some instances it is difficult to determine whether or not the early settled towns have been occupied continuously. This is true as to Peoria. It is true also of Fort Massac. There is pretty good evidence that Fort Massac below the mouth of the Tennessee was visited as early as 1701 by Father Mermet who was accompanied by Juchereau de St. Denis, a fur trader. The point was chosen it is said by both the trader and the priest, because it could be reached by Indians coming down the Tennessee and the Cumberland from the south and by those coming down the Ohio and the Wabash as well as those from the lower Ohio and the Mississippi. The site of "Old Fort Massac" was indeed well chosen. Standing on the fort, one may see down the river ten or twelve miles, while looking up the Ohio the view is unobstructed for more than a dozen miles. It is stated that Charlevoix, the historian, reports that as early as 1700 the French had established a trading post at the mouth of the "Quabache" which, as he said, discharges into the Mississippi. Of course the site of "Old Fort Massac" is not "near" the mouth of the Ohio as we might use the word, but this site is the only one which meets all the requirements of the story.

Mrs. Mathew T. Scott, president of the Daughters of the American Revolution in a paper read before the State Historical Society and found in the Transactions for the year, 1903, says: "In August, 1702, M. Juchereau de St. Denis, accompanied by thirty-four Canadians, including Father Mermet, departed from the Mission at Kaskaskia, in the Illinois, on his expedition to

form a settlement at the mouth of the Ohio where he proposed to engage in the fur trade with the Indians.

Father Mermet established a branch mission which was called Assumption. It was the pious custom of the period to dedicate to the patronage of some saint such works and enterprises as this. The feast of the Assumption is celebrated in the Catholic Church on August 15, so it is probable that the post and mission of the Assumption was founded August 15, 1702. The Masoutens were the Indians who were immediately to be reached by both the fur traders and the priests. It is said that Juchereau died at the fort which was erected near the mission in 1704.

It is not easily established that this point was a permanent settlement, but tradition persists in saying that it was continuously occupied till the French and Indian war when the French who were driven out of Fort du Quesne in 1758 made their way down the Ohio and took refuge in this fort. The outlines of the fort are very distinctly marked today and the general plan is an exact copy of Fort Gage, Fort Chartres, and Post Vincents. It would appear certain therefore that the fort, the remains of which we see today, was constructed about the same time that the others were built, namely: sometime during the French and Indian war.

The story of Vincennes, Indiana, is not strictly speaking Illinois history. But in the early part of the eighteenth century, there were no state lines and the "Illinois Country" included much more than is now included in the State of Illinois. The same influences which were at work at Fort St. Louis, Detroit, Green Bay, Peoria, Cahokia, Kaskaskia were at work at Vincennes. It will therefore not be thought out of place to call attention to a few traditions and facts about "Old Vincennes." There is indeed a very close relation between the history of early Illinois and that of early Indiana. "Old Kaskaskia" bears very much the same relation to the State of Illinois, as "Old Vincennes" bears to Indiana. And surely there has always been a very close relation politically and otherwise between the two states. They were both included in the grant of James the first of England to the Virginia company in 1609. They were both settled by French missionaries and French traders. They were both included in the conquest of George Rogers Clarke in 1778. They were both ceded to the United States by Virginia in 1784. They were both included in that immortal document, the Ordinance of 1787 as a part of the Old North West Territory. They both constituted from 1803 to 1809 the Indiana Territory, and they both came into the union as free states and fought side by side in the War of 1812, in the great Civil war, in the Spanish-American war, and in the great World war.

Vincennes, the oldest town in Indiana, was settled as early

as 1702, as declared by Henry S. Cauthorn, who has written an interesting and what appears to be an accurate history of the city of Vincennes. He bases the earliest history of the place upon the records to be found in Quebec. According to this writer François Morgan de Vincenne, an officer in the French service, was sent from Canada with soldiers to build three forts which would connect Canada with the upper part of the lower Mississippi. The three points selected were the present site of Fort Wayne, the site of Lafayette, and of Vincennes. The little army under Vincennes reached the present site of "Old Vincennes" in 1702. The little army was accompanied by a Jesuit missionary who celebrated Mass in the open air in the presence of the troops and hundreds of Indians near the fort that was then probably under construction. The "Annals of Quebec" consist of seventy-two volumes of relations and transactions in French, Latin, or Italian, according to the nationality of the priest who made the record. They were translated into English under the supervision and editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites. Mr. Cauthorn relies further upon the testimony which he gathered from the writings of Bishop Brute, the first bishop of the Vincennes diocese, and upon other officials in the Catholic Church who have had access to authorities not available to the general public.

The Western Company was unfortunate as to the first colonists as stated above. But the company kept at the task of populating the interior of the country, particularly the part below the mouth of the Illinois. Grant of land were made to individuals and to small groups or sub-companies. Law himself received a grant of thousands of acres on the upper Arkansas River. Upon this estate he spent much treasure. In the midsummer of 1718 as Bienville was coming down the Mississippi from a tour of inspection, he selected the present site of the City of New Orleans and named the future southern metropolis after the regent, the Duke of Orleans. The place grew very slowly. This was no doubt caused by the fact that Mobile and Biloxi remained the center of political authority for several years. In August, 1723, however, the capital of Louisiana was located at the new town on the Mississippi and New Orleans came rapidly into prominence.

Fort Chartres

On one of the vessels which landed on Dauphine Island in the early part of February, 1718, there came to Louisiana a young French Canadian officer, Lieutenant Dugue de Boisbriant, the King's military representative in Louisiana. He brought the appointment of his cousin, Le Moyne de Bienville, as governor of Louisiana to take the place of M. L'Epignay, removed. Late in the fall of 1718 the young commander, with a detachment

of French soldiers, took up his voyage to the Illinois Country in boats. He reached Kaskaskia in December, 1718, and set up a military occupation of Illinois. Here his headquarters remained for about eighteen months. One of the first tasks appeared to be to select a good site for a fort which would command the movements up and down through the Mississippi valley. The place selected was an alluvial plain on the left bank of the Mississippi about sixteen miles above Kaskaskia. Along this portion of the river's course the stream runs parallel to the bluffs and at a distance of some three miles therefrom. The bluffs in this region are very prominent, in some places a hundred feet or more in height, and abrupt. There was probably at this early date a trail running along this valley at the foot of the bluffs from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. The site selected for

POWDER MAGAZINE AT OLD FORT CHARTRES

the fort was a half mile or more from the left bank of the river on ground that was not subject to overflow except in times of very high water. But between the fort and the bluffs some two and a half or three miles to northeast was a bayou of considerable width and extending parallel to the foot of the bluffs some two or three miles. The position of the fort made it easily defended on two sides—on the side toward the river and on the side toward the bayou. In recent years there have been very fine forest trees all along on the ridge of alluvial land upon which the old fort stood. Some critics have questioned the strategic judgment of Lieutant Boisbriant in locating the fort on this alluvial plain, but if one will go on the ground and make a careful survey of the situation he will see that this fort absolutely controlled the movements up and down the valley by water and by land.

During the temporary headquarters of Lieutenant Boisbriant at Kaskaskia his men were building a fort at the place selected. Tradition insists that there was a sort of warehouse or blockhouse at this place which had been built by Crozat for the purpose of protecting supplies and furs. The fort which Lieutenant Boisbriant built was probably after this fashion: The fort was laid out and a trench was dug some feet deep in which logs fifteen or twenty feet high were placed on end as close together as possible. Another trench a foot or more outside of the first one was dug and into it likewise was placed another row of palisade logs. The space in between was filled with earth and tamped in, making a substantial defense against any form of attack short of cannon. The area inside the palisade was large enough to contain officers' quarters, barracks, supply houses, and store houses for the use of the Western Company. The defense work was known as Fort Chartres, probably in honor of the son of the Regent whose title was Duc de Chartres. The commandant's headquarters were moved to the fort in the early part of 1720.

Just near the fort there grew up a village occupied probably by a few French traders with their Indian wives and their children. The name of the village was New Chartres. The population must have grown considerably as a "chapel at ease" was early established and later a church was known as St. Anne's Parish. Recently the records of the parish were in the keeping of the priest in charge of the Prairie du Rocher Church. An interesting part of these records is the part that records marriages that were celebrated at the St. Anne Church. These records show that many of the witnesses to the marriages were men of high rank in the military establishment. On one page the author observed the signature of Captain Neyon de Villier, a brother of Jumonville de Villier, who was killed in an engagement near Fort du Quesne May 28, 1754, with Virginia troops commanded by George Washington.

There was a very close relation between the government in France and the Western Company. The Regent was easily persuaded by John Law to render any assistance which the company needed in its efforts to develop the resources of the Louisiana Territory. To further these interests a sort of sub-company called the "Company of St. Phillip" was organized in Paris having particularly for their aim the development of the mining interests of the Louisiana Territory. At the head of this company was placed Phillipe François de Renault, a man of fortune and one versed in the knowledge of mining. He was authorized to proceed to America and carry to completion the plans which had so miserably failed under Crozat. He brought with him 200 miners and a full complement of machines and tools. On his way he stopped at the island of St. Domingo and bought 500

Guinea negroes and brought them into the Louisiana Country. Many of these were left around New Orleans and along the lower Mississippi but a goodly number was brought to Fort Chartres. Here he arrived in the year 1720. He immediately sent his men out in all directions to search for precious metals. He kept up a vigorous investigation for two or more years, and finding nothing but lead, he bethought himself of the necessity of putting his laborers to work raising something upon which to live till a fortune should be found in mines of precious metals.

Accordingly a grant of land was made to Renault three miles wide abutting on the Mississippi River and extending back into the country nearly at right angles to the river a distance of six miles. Upon this grant there was a village, St. Philippe. A chapel was built and also a watermill. This grant was made by Boisbriant representing the King and Des Ursins on behalf of the Western Company. Settlers were encouraged to build homes on this grant and to cultivate the soil. This grant was two or three miles above Fort Chartres. The ownership of this land has been the cause of much litigation—the legal titles being in dispute.

About four miles nearly east of Fort Chartres was located the village of Prairie du Rocher. This village was on a grant made to Boisbriant which he afterward transferred to other parties. In all these grants to villages there was a commons and a common field. In the commons there was pasturage and firewood and in the common field there were allotments of ground to the villagers. Prairie du Rocher was settled probably shortly after 1721 for in this year Charlevoix made a trip down the valley and while he speaks of the fort and of Kaskaskia he does not refer to Prairie du Rocher, but Reynolds in his Pioneer History says the date is 1722.

The Western Company did not succeed in finding precious metals any better than its predecessors. Renault was very active in his search for metals of value. He sent exploring parties into the northern foot-hills of the Ozarks in what is now Jackson County. And there is a tradition that on Drewry Creek in the very early days there were open mines that were said to have been the work of Renault's miners in their search for precious metals. Silver Creek which rises in Madison County and runs south through St. Clair into the Kaskaskia River was named from the fact that the French believed silver existed on this creek and in the early days their excavations still were visible. On St. Mary's River in Randolph County mining activities were carried on, also in Monroe County.

Probably the most valuable mineral which Renault found within the limits of Illinois or in any adjoining state was lead. This metal was found in Illinois before 1700. In that year a noted Frenchman, La Sueur, a bold traveler, on a journey from

the mouth of the Mississippi up that stream visited the lead mines on a river which comes from the north and flows into the Mississippi. He said the lead mines were seven leagues from the Mississippi River. He named the river "The River of Mines." The river is now called Fever River. But in an old atlas of Illinois published in 1876 there is a facsimile map of Illinois published in the "American Atlas in 1822," and this map shows what we now call Fever River was on that map called "Mine River."

Another matter of interest with regard to Renault's search for precious metals is the fact that the Western Company made him a grant of land in the near vicinity of Peoria. The United States in advertising the lead mines of Illinois for lease in 1817 excepted the lead mines on the Pimantoui Grant to Renault on the Illinois River. Now since the lead mines of the northwest corner of Illinois were known by the French as early as 1700 —possibly earlier—it is very probable that Renault worked these mines. It is stated that great quantities of lead were shipped from the mines of what is now Illinois and Missouri during the period when Renault was searching for precious metals in the Illinois Country. This trade in lead was supplemented by a prosperous trade in pelts and furs, flour, and outside of these four articles of trade there is no record of any commercial activity.

John Law's great financial schemes in France collapsed in May, 1720. He was driven from France and all his possessions were confiscated. This of course was a great check upon the Western Company's progress in Louisiana. However the company still functioned till 1732 when the charter was surrendered to the king and Louisiana became a royal province.

Resume

It will not be amiss to restate the leading facts about the activities of the French and Indians in the Illinois Country from 1700 when Kaskaskia on the river by that name was settled till the surrender of the charter by the Western Company on April 10, 1732.

In 1700 the Kaskaskia Indians lived on the Illinois River near the present Town of Utica, LaSalle County. St. Cosme, a missionary priest in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec says the Kaskaskia Indians under Fathers Pinet and Marest were at Peoria on their winter hunt in the early winter of 1699. St. Cosme was accompanied by Tonti who had abandoned Fort St. Louis and was on his way to the French settlement at Biloxi which had just been made.

Again in the summer of 1700 LeSueur was journeying up the Mississippi and at the mouth of the Illinois received a letter written by Father Marest dated July 10, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin at the

Illinois. Then we have the word of Father Gravier who made a journey from Mackinaw to the mouth of the Mississippi. He says he left Chicago September 8, 1700, and reached Kaskaskia village too late to prevent the Indians at that time under Father Marest from leaving their village to go to the settlements of D'Iberville at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

The Kaskaskia Indians were found later, with Marest and the Parish records, living quietly at the village of Kaskaskia on the "Okaw." It is therefore easy to establish the fact that Kaskaskia on the "Okaw" was settled in the late part of the year of 1700.

The records as given above show that M. Juchereau de St. Denis with thirty-four Canadians established a trading post near the mouth of the Ohio in 1702. Father Mermet established a branch mission at this post which he called the Mission of the Assumption. This point occupied by the trading post and by the mission was occupied by French till the French and Indian war when the soldiers retreating from Fort Du Quesne built at the site of the Mission of the Assumption Fort Massac the ruins of which still remain.

Vincennes was also visited about the year 1702 by French soldiers from Quebec who established a fort at the present site of Vincennes. They were accompanied by a Jesuit Father who said mass and from that time forward the occupation of the place can be shown.

Crozat came to Kaskaskia in 1712 as the holder of a grant from Louis XIV to all the Territory of Louisiana for purposes of trade. He was empowered to open mines and search for precious metals paying one-fifth of what he found to the king. Individual fur traders became jealous of Crozat as the holder of a monopoly and the commercial interests of the Illinois Country were greatly crippled. Crozat's efforts were greatly opposed by many interests and he surrendered his grant in 1717.

The Western Company was organized in France by John Law in 1717 and received a grant to the Territory of Louisiana which Crozat had just surrendered. Under its patronage Fort Chartres was established and a knowledge of the geography of Illinois greatly enlarged. Its representative, Renault, established a village, St. Philippe, on his estate now in Monroe County, mining operations were carried on throughout the country and were particularly successful at the lead mines near the present City of Galena.

A village of some importance grew up very near Fort Chartres known as New Chartres, and without doubt the Village of Prairie du Rocher, some four miles east of the fort, was established before the dissolution of the Western Company in 1732. Cahokia was a flourishing village prior to 1732. But the records concerning this place are scarce. Peoria was not at this time a

center of white settlers. The Indians seem to have congregated there, and there was a mission there, but it could hardly be called a permanent settlement like Kaskaskia.

The word Chicago is spelled on thirteen different French maps in thirteen different ways. These were drawn from 1687 to 1794. The first cabin built in Chicago was probably the one built to shelter Marquette in the winter of 1674-5.

When Boisbriant came in 1818 to take possession of the Illinois Country and had constructed his fort, he began to make grants of land on behalf of the government and the Western Company. These grants to individuals were usually narrow strips extending back into the country from a river's front. The old maps of those portions of Illinois occupied by the French in this period show these grants. The atlas of Illinois published by Werner and Beers of Chicago in 1876 show these grants in Randolph, Monroe, and St. Clair counties. The grants are numbered and the plats remain as they were in the days of French occupancy. Records were made and deeds given. Here is the copy of one made very early, May 10, 1722:

"Pierre Duquet de Boisbriant, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Louis, and First King's Lieutenant of the Province of Louisiana, commanding at the Illinois, and Monsignor Antoine de la Loire Des Ursins, principal commissary for the Royal India Company, on demand of Charles Danie to grant him a piece of land of five arpents in front of the site of the Mitchigamia River, running north and south, joining to Michael Philip on one side, and on the other to Meleque, and in depth, east and west to the Mississippi. In consequence they do grant to the said Charles Danie, in socage, the said land, where on he may from this date commence working, clearing, and sowing in expectation of a formal concession, which shall be sent from France by Messres the Directors of the Royal India Company, and the said land shall revert to the domain of the said company if the said Charles Danie does not work thereon within a year and a day. Given this 10th day of May 1722.

BOISBRIANT,
Des Ursins."

The settlers did not have separate fields nor did they build houses on the cultivated lands, but they lived in villages on lots of ground like our village lots. These lots were one arpent square and were enclosed with pickets. The house was built toward the front part of the lot with flower beds and a few fruit trees next to the street, while the back of the lot was used for stables and garden. The fields—that is the private grants—lay side by side and were never fenced. Sometimes a small ditch would separate one field from the ones lying next to it. It is very interesting to ride over the roads along the bluffs about Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher and see these narrow fields as distinctly marked off as they were in the days of the Western Company.

An agency of great public utility was early established near Kaskaskia. This was a mill for grinding grain. In a humble petition presented to the Commandant and Judge of the Country of Illinois on the 9th of February, 1727, signed by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, they asked for the consideration of four matters pertaining to the lands chiefly. In the fourth request they asked among other things that they may have confirmed a small tract on the opposite (east) side of the little river (the Kaskaskia) that it may constitute a mill site for the erection of a water mill. In the disposal of this petition the Commandant, Deliete, and the Judge, Chaffin, recommended to the Superior Council of Louisiana that the request as to the mill site should be granted. Now it is very interesting to know that there was a water mill built and operated in the earliest times just east across the Kaskaskia River, but a half mile or so above just at the foot of a bluff from which there flowed forth and still flows a stream of water which was used in running the water mill. Upon this same site as late as the latter part of the eighteenth century a mill of considerable capacity was built. The basement of the building was of stone and the frame work above was of huge timbers many of which were ten or twelve inches square. The author visited this abandoned site a few years ago and found the mill stones and timbers scattered about in wild profusion.

Probably before the date of 1732 when the inhabitants of the several villages along the Mississippi valley were shipping large quantities of flour down the river to New Orleans.

The introduction of slavery into Illinois dates from the coming of Renault in 1721. About three hundred slaves were brought at that time to work in the timber and on the farms. When the grant was made to Renault he put his slaves to work on the lands to produce food for his men who were carrying on the mining operations throughout the country. When Renault left the Illinois country he sold many of his slaves to the farmers about Fort Chartres and thus slavery was perpetuated till about 1850 when a court decision released those then held in bondage. These are known in history as the old "French slaves." Their descendants are still occupying the land. They may be seen on their farms or trading in the Village of Prairie Du Rocher or attending the services of the Catholic Church in the village. They do not greatly resemble the negroes that may be seen in other towns of Southern Illinois and their speech is not a Southern negro tongue but a mixture of French and English.

The farms of the French villages were soon stocked with cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, and fowls. The horses, so says Reynolds, were a Spanish breed from the Southwest. They were of the general build of ponies and were very hardy animals. The cattle were brought from Canada and were small but easily

kept and serviceable. Wheat, corn, oats, apples, pumpkins, potatoes and other vegetables were raised on the rich alluvial soil.

The church persisted but rarely flourished. There were missions or chapels or regular church organizations in all the villages. Without doubt the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia was the most prosperous of all the religious centers. There was a monastery and a college there as early as 1721 according to Governor Reynolds in his "Pioneer History." A large amount of the religious and secular activity was the result of the hard work of the Jesuits who labored in and out of season for the conversion of the Indians and for the building of villages, homes, mills, boats, and for the manufacture of cloth, the tanning of leather, and the manufactures in simple ways in iron and wood. Bruce says that the "real control of the minds and will of the people was the hands of the Jesuits."

We have followed the fortunes of Marquette and Joliet, of LaSalle and Tonti, of priests, traders, and missionaries. We have seen settlements take root, grow, and then die, and we have observed the planting of at least a half dozen settlements, where conditions were not the most favorable yet they have lived—Kaskaskia, Fort Massac, Vincennes, Fort Chartres, St. Philippe, Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia, Peoria and Chicago. In fact at the date of the surrender of the Western Company of its charter there were signs of great progress. The inhabitants of these several villages were a happy-go-lucky set. Life was easy and to villagers there were no signs of any serious disturbance from without nor from within.

CHAPTER IX

ILLINOIS A ROYAL PROVINCE.

CHICKASA WAR — REVIVAL OF INTERESTS — CONFLICT OF INTERESTS—KING GEORGE'S WAR—THE OHIO LAND COMPANY —FORT NECESSITY—ILLINOIS IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—END OF WAR—PONTIAC'S WAR—PROCLAMATION OF 1763.

The Western Company which had been merged into an East Indian Company surrendered its control of Louisiana April 10, 1732. So far as the ordinary observer was concerned there was no great change as the country passed from a chartered province to a royal province. As has been intimated in a previous chapter, the Jesuits were the ones who gave direction to the slight political and intellectual activities which were observed among the people. Outside of the issuing of a few grants of land, the great company took little action in the Louisiana Territory. Nearly all that was accomplished was done by individuals, priests, traders, trappers, and a few political officials.

ILLINOIS A ROYAL PROVINCE

One of the first steps taken by the crown was to separate the Louisiana Territory from New France. The government of Louisiana was carried on by a governor, and intendant, and a Royal Council. These were appointed by the king. Illinois was made a dependency of Louisiana. The commandant of Illinois was to be appointed by the governor of Louisiana. Lieutenant Boisbriant was recalled to Louisiana in 1725 to act as governor, while De Bienville made a visit to France. The second commandant of Illinois was Captain du Liette of the royal army. The next commandant was St. Ange de Bellerive, who was the one in control in the year 1732, when the Western Company surrendered its charter. M. Salmon was named to accept the surrender of Louisiana from the company.

The Western Company had had control of the Louisiana Country from 1717 to 1732—fifteen years. During this period the population had grown from about 700 souls of all colors, ages, and sexes, till in 1732 there were 5,000 people in the territory. Out of this 5,000 population about 2,000 of them were slaves. When the charter was surrendered in 1732, the crown purchased all the effects belonging to the company. There were warehouses, goods, stock in trade, plantations, 260 negroes in Illinois, and all the equipment about the plantations. Major

D'Artaguette, a young officer in the French service who had won distinction as an Indian fighter on the lower Mississippi, was named as the king's first lieutenant, and commandant of Illinois. He began his duties in 1734 and ruled till his death two years later.

As the French had spread north from New Orleans, they had settled among the Indians scattered along the Mississippi. Among these Indians were the Natches, the Chickasas, and the Choctas. The Natches were located in what is now Mississippi where the City of Natches is found. To the north of the Natches were the Chickasas, and southeast of the Natches were the Choctas. The Chickasas had been very hostile at times to the carriers of the commerce which passed up and down the Mississippi River between the Illinois Country and the ports at the mouth of the river. Bienville, while governor of Louisiana, was able to hold these hostile natives in check, but in 1726 he was called to France and it was then that the Chickasas renewed their opposition to the navigation of the river by the people of Illinois. In 1729 the Chickasas hatched a conspiracy among the Indians in that region for the extermination of the French in Lower Louisiana. In the war which followed the Natches were annihilated as a tribe—the refugees taking shelter among the Chickasas who had not taken an active part in the war. In all of these unfortunate relations between the French and the Indians along the Mississippi, the English of the Carolinas were prominent factors. In 1732 Georgia was settled by the English and they too soon became involved in the unfriendly relations between the French and the Indians.

When Oglethorpe was fairly settled in his colony of Georgia he was visited by the chiefs of the tribes to the west of the present State of Georgia who came to tell him that the French were encroaching upon his grant which the king had made to certain trustees. The English in Georgia and the Carolinas set themselves to oppose the French along the Mississippi and about the Gulf Coast. This was the basis for later complications, and accounts for the continued bitter attitude of the Indians toward the French. The Natches refugees who had been sheltered by the Chickasas were still thirsting for the blood of the French who had broken up their tribe. The Chickasas appeared for some time to be neutral in the matter, but encouraged by the English emissaries the Chickasas openly commenced depredations upon the French and the river commerce. Negro refugees from the Natches war had taken up their abode in the Chickasa villages. These renegades were now commissioned by the Chickasas to go about New Orleans and work up a revolt among the slaves. It was planned to kill their masters and burn New Orleans and make their escape to the Chickasa villages. The plot was discovered, the leaders taken and executed. There

seemed nothing for the French to do now less than to punish severely the Chickasas.

Bienville had returned to New Orleans as governor in 1635. He was old but active and somewhat vain, since he wished to finish up his career as governor of Louisiana by annihilating the Chickasas. He therefore sent an ambassador to the Chickasas asking them to surrender the Natches Indians who had been guilty of massacreing French settlers on the river. This the Chickasas refused to do and it was Bienville's plan to make war on them to the point of utter destruction.

The Chickasa War

Bienville had definite plans for the war upon the Chickasas. He ordered the new commandant at Kaskaskia, Pierre D'Artaguiette, to assemble the fighting men of the French villages about Kaskaskia and also the soldiers of Vincennes. With these he was to march south and meet Bienville almost east of the present City of Natches. The two armies—the one under D'Artaguiette from the Illinois Country, and the other under Bienville from Biloxi, New Orleans and other settlements. The army under Bienville failed to reach the place of rendezvous and D'Artaguiette attacked some small villages with apparent success, but the main body of the Indians assembling before Bienville arrived, attacked the Illinois troops, killed forty Frenchmen and eight Indians. They also captured many of the French and Indians whom they burned at the stake. Among those burned at the stake were M. de Vincennes, the founder of Vincennes, Indiana; D'Artaguiette, the Illinois commandant; Father Senat; DuTisne, a former commandant of Illinois; Pierre St. Ange, Brother Louis St. Ange, a later cammandant. The remnants of the Illinois troops eventually returned to their homes. In 1739 another expedition was planned but peace was secured before any engagements were opened.

The death of D'Artaguiette was lamented by all who ever knew him, and his loss was seriously felt by the settlers in the Illinois villages. Alphonse de la Buissoniere who was one of the leaders in the ill-fated Chickasa war was the successor to D'Artaguiette. From 1736 to 1744 there were no public enterprises to attract attention. The population was largely increased by immigrants from the old world—mostly French. The Illinois Country grew in population and also in different kinds of industrial activities. There were by 1740 as many as six villages along the Mississippi, from south to north as follows: Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, New Chartres, St. Philippe, Prairie du Pont, and Cahokia. There was still an Indian village at Peoria. Fort St. Louis had been abandoned, and the present site of Chicago was occupied only by transient traders, trappers, and travelers. One of the most common products of the several French villages was flour. Wheat was easily grown, and mills

were constructed for the grinding of wheat into flour. Most of the mills were water mills. These were erected at the foot of the bluffs that skirted the eastern margin of the great American bottom. There was at least one windmill if Governor Reynolds was correctly informed. Then there were horse-mills for tread mills. Reynolds reports great destruction of property along the lower Mississippi in the fall of 1745. The villages on the Mississippi and on the Wabash sent relief in the form of quantities of flour. The flour was transported on boats and was sacked in deer skins.

Revival of Interests

After the treaties of peace were signed between the French and the Chickasas, in 1739, there was quiet from one end of the Mississippi to the other. Commerce was one of the most attractive enterprises in which one could engage. It was very remunerative. The people of New Orleans depended almost altogether upon the Illinois Country for their food supplies. "Regular cargoes of flour, bacon, pork, hides, tallow, leather, lumber, wine, lead, and peltries were annually transported in keel boats and barges to New Orleans where there was an excellent market." The going trip was a very simple proposition—the boat went with the stream, but the return journey was one to be dreaded. The homeward cargo was of rice, sugar, coffee, tobacco, indigo, cotton cloth, iron, and tools. It would be a discouraging task to row a heavily loaded boat against the Mississippi current, but the mariners often had the wind to help them. Then there was what was known as "cordelling." This method consisted in pulling the boats up stream by means of long ropes, the person walking along the bank; or one end was often tied to a tree and the other end in the hands of the men on the boat was tugged at continually against wind and current.

It is not cruel to say that the life of the people who lived in the villages along the Mississippi or on other streams was not of a very high order. Government was simple. The commandant soon found that the laws and customs of Paris were poorly adapted to the needs of a simple intercourse of a simple people. Practically the priest in charge of the village mission or church had more to do in regulating the civil relationships than any of the regularly appointed civil officers. There were no church dissensions. No one questioned the authority of the priest in church government or in interpretation. The great majority of the citizens were blissfully ignorant. There were no schools of any kind outside of Kaskaskia. There were no newspapers, no orators except the Indians and no secret propaganda to be disseminated. Socially there were no high ideals. There were very few French women. Most of the mothers were Indian squaws or daughters of Indian women, and the record of bap-

tisms of at least one church shows that the father of the child was not always known. These people enjoyed the social activities of the community. They danced with great pleasure. "While they were light-hearted, they were light-headed as well."

Conflict of Interests

It was very plain to those who were accustomed to interpret the signs of the time that the time was not far removed when there would be a serious lash as to the rightful ownership of the lands west of the Alleghanies. The English colonies of Georgia, the two Carolinas, Virginia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts all had grants in their charters which included the lands west of the settled portion as far west as the Pacific Ocean—the south sea. Georgia and the two Carolinas were greatly concerned about the presence of the French in the lands between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. The colonies farther north found some trouble passing over the Alleghenies and they do not seem to have cared for the presence of the French on the Ohio and the Wabash, at least in the early days. Besides, from 1744 to 1748 the English Government and the northern colonies were concerned about a war known as King George's war and there was little time to think of the French west of the Alleghanies.

King George's War

This war had its origin in Europe and is called a dynastic war. It involved England and France, and so the English and French colonies in America were more or less concerned. Since the close of Queen Anne's war in 1713, the French had built what they thought was an impregnable fort on the Cape Breton Island. This fort was to guard the entrance to the St. Lawrence. Some New England farmers were organized into a naval expedition by William Pepperell and Louisburg was captured. There were some conflicts near the border between the New England colonies and the French in Canada, but nothing that in any way disturbed the French in the Louisiana region. But when the war closed in 1748, the French gave earnest heed to the occupation of the Ohio River and valley.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the French had tightened their grip on the waterways from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi by way of the Great Lakes. There were forts, warehouses and mission stations at Louisburg, Quebec, Montreal, Frontenac, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, Green Bay, Fort Miami, Starved Rock, Peoria, Cahokia, St. Phillipe, Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Fort Massac, Fort Prudhomme, Fort Rosalie, New Orleans, Biloxi, and Mobile. There were other stations of lesser importance. But in all of this strong chain of forts which completely hemmed in the English colonies there was but a single defense on the

Ohio River for a distance of more than a thousand miles. It was therefore the plan of the French Government immediately to proceed to occupy this river from its nearest approach to Lake Erie to its junction with the Mississippi.

The Ohio Land Company

The English have not been napping relative to their interests west of the Alleghany Mountains. The English western line had been pushed out in Georgia to Fort Moore, on the Savannah River; to Camden, Charlottesburg; and Hillsboro, in the Carolinas; in Virginia, well up into the Piedmont belt; in Pennsylvania, well toward the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers; in New York, to Oswego. The frontier line from New York to Georgia was made up of hardy Pennsylvania Dutch, Scotch Irish, Germans, and Huguenots. The English adventurers of the coast had gone into the valleys of the mountains and had established trading stations even to the west of the water parting. In 1748 Thomas Lee, a member of the King's Council in Virginia, formed the plan of effecting large settlements west of the Alleghanies. He secured the assistance of a Mr. Hanbury, a rich and influential merchant of London. With these two leaders, a company of fourteen persons was formed, probably half of the number residing in England and a half in Virginia and other colonies. Among those in America who were stockholders in this Ohio Land Company were Governor Dinwiddie and Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington. The King of England received the petition of this Ohio Land Company and granted the company a half million acres of land along the Ohio River.

While the company was being organized, Conrad Weiser, a noted interpreter, was sent to the head waters of the Ohio River to secure the friendship of the Indians in the venture of the Ohio Land Company. The company was given the exclusive right of trading with the Indians in the Ohio region. Trading stations were established on the Alleghany River, the northern branch of the Ohio. An important trading station was also established at Logstown, eighteen miles below the junction of the two rivers that form the Ohio. In 1750 Christopher Gist, a frontiersman of great ability, went into the Ohio region; he went into what is now the State of Ohio and as far west as the Miami River. On this trip Gist found George Croghan and Andrew Montour, two celebrated frontiersmen, who had preceded him into the Ohio country. Gist returned to Virginia by way of Kentucky, where he also found a few feeble white settlements.

The Lead Plates

As soon as word reached the governor of Canada telling of the activity of the English in the region of the Ohio, he dis-

patched Louis Celeron, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, into the Ohio valley for the purpose of depositing a number of lead plates at the mouths of rivers flowing into the Ohio. Celeron kept the governor of Canada posted as to what was transpiring in the Ohio valley. In January, 1750, Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania laid before his council a letter from Celeron written from "Camp on the river Ohio, at an old Shawnee village." In this letter the Frenchman said he was surprised to find English traders from Pennsylvania in a country to which England had never laid claim, and requested the governor to advise his people to refrain from trespassing on the territory of France. Shortly after this the governor of Canada wrote letters to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania warning them that English traders found in the valley of the Ohio would be seized and held as trespassers on French territory.

Washington's Message

The French now began to send military forces into the valley of the Ohio. They erected a fort at Presque Isle, now the City of Erie, Pennsylvania. They next moved south some twenty-five miles and built a fort on French Creek, one of the tributaries of the Alleghany River. In the latter part of 1753 Governor Dinwiddie sent George Washington to the French Commander who was then at Venango with a request that he should withdraw out of territory which had been a part of the English possessions since the days of the Cabots, and the territory of Virginia since 1609, the date of her second charter. Washington was used to the hardships which this task presented. He had surveyed the hills and valleys of the Alleghanies, and he had accompanied Lord Fairfax on many a hunt in these same mountains. He reached Venango and delivered the message from Governor Dinwiddie. The French officer was very courteous to Washington, but told him that he was acting under orders of his superior officer to whom he would present the message from Governor Dinwiddie. Young Washington was told to gather up quite a body of knowledge on this trip all of which he did to the satisfaction of the governor.

Among other things which he observed was the strategic value of the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela—the "Forks of the Ohio." This he made a matter of special report, and advised that the English should immediately take possession of this point and erect a strong military defense. Early in the spring of 1754 Washington, as head of the Virginia militia, was ordered to raise two hundred soldiers and proceed to the defense of the "Forks of the Ohio." Preceding this little army was a band of workmen who went to the designated place and began the erection of a fort.

Fort Necessity

Shortly after Washington's visit to the French at Venango, a detachment of French soldiers was sent down the north branch of the Ohio, with the purpose of taking possession of the strategic "Forks of the Ohio." When they reached the place they found the Virginia workmen engaged on the proposed English Fort. The workmen were easily dissuaded and dispersed. In the meantime George Washington, now a Colonel, was organizing his little band which was to take the first steps in a great war. His troops were mostly Virginians but some troops were from neighboring states. He left Williamsburg in the early part of the year 1754 with a force of two hundred men. He arrived at Great Meadows some fifty miles southeast of The Forks on May 27, 1754. Here he was visited by Half-King, an Indian chief, who lived at Loggstown on the Ohio below the Forks. Half-King was an Iroquois chief who was a real friend of the English. This chief had a small band of warriors; they had come to help Washington. Christopher Gist, a good friend of Washington, had a short time before this settled just west of Great Meadows; he also came to tell Washington that a detachment of French troops were encamped not far away awaiting Washington's coming. On the 28th of May, Washington and his friend Half-King marched forth and came upon the enemy at a place called Little Meadows, five miles east of the present City of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. There was fought the first battle of the French and Indian war. All the French detachment were killed, captured or dispersed. Among the killed was Jumonville de Villiers, the commander of the French contingent.

Washington held his ground till June 28, when he learned that Coulon de Villiers, a brother of the slain French commander, was near with an army of several hundred men. Washington then retreated to Great Meadows where he took refuge in a crude fort which was called Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked on July 3 by a thousand French troops. The battle raged through the day. At nightfall in a heavy rain-storm DeVillier sent terms of capitulation to Washington, who was at that time out of provisions and ammunition. The generous terms were accepted, and on July 4, 1754, George Washington was permitted to march from its fort with flags flying and with drums beating. He was allowed to return to Virginia, giving up his French prisoners and leaving in the fort a few pieces of artillery which he had brought over the mountains from Virginia.

Fort Chartres

The justification for this somewhat detailed story of incidents far from Illinois, may not on the face of it be understood, but there is a very important relation between Illinois history

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and the story of the French and Indian war. When at the close of the war which we call "King George's War," the French decided to begin an active campaign of fort building from the east end of Lake Erie down the Ohio River to its junction with the Mississippi, they also began to strengthen their hold upon all the route from the mouth of the St. Lawrence by way of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. This involved the repairing of old forts, the building of new ones, and the accumulation of war supplies in all the places suitable for such procedure. Among the places selected as a strategic point on the Mississippi was Fort Chartres, sixteen or eighteen miles above the young and growing city of Kaskaskia. The location of this fort has been given somewhat in detail in a preceding chapter. The first fort was a palisade of a double row of logs with space between filled with earth. It was built in 1520, and was in all probability in need of repair. But the French government's plans had passed beyond the temporary stage. It was therefore decided to construct a very permanent fort at this place. In the summer of 1751 there arrived at Fort Chartres Chevalier de Macarty direct from Paris with orders to rebuild the fort, using stone instead of wood. This apparently sudden decision of France to strengthen her claim to the interior of the continent was the result of earnest appeals that had been sent home by the governors of Louisiana and New France. The governor of Canada wrote to his home government, saying: "The little colony of Illinois ought not to be left to perish. The king must sacrifice for its support. The principal advantage of the country is its extreme productiveness, and its connection with Canada and Louisiana."

Chevalier de Macarty was himself a Major of Engineers in the army. He was given general control of building the new fort, but the plans were drawn by Lieut. Jean B. Saussier, a military engineer and maternal ancestor of Dr. John F. Snyder, lately of Virginia City, Cass County, Illinois, a former president of the Illinois State Historical Society. The work of construction was begun not later than 1753, at least in May of that year. Captain Bossu of the French marines who was at the fort says: "The Sieur Saussier, an engineer, has made a plan for constructing a new fort here according to the intention of the court. It shall bear the same name as the old one which is called Fort de Chartres. The general plan of the fort is shown by the accompanying diagram." It was built of stone quarried from the bluffs just above Prairie du Rocher, and the old quarries may be seen today as one goes north along the old road at the foot of the bluffs. These quarries were about three or three and a half miles away from the fort with a large part of the space covered by a lake or bayou. The old settlers will tell you that the stones were loaded on the boats at the foot of the bluff where they were

quarried and transported to within a few hundred feet of the site of the fort where they were unloaded and hauled on ox carts to the site of the fort.

The walls of the fort were 1,447 feet in length, more than 2 feet thick, 18 feet high, contained four bastions each having eight embrasures and a sentry box. The fort faced northeast, and in the middle of the front wall was a gate of artistic construction. The gateway was arched and 15 feet high. Over the gateway was a sort of portico reached by a stone stairway of nineteen steps with a balustrade up the steps and around the outer edge of the portico. All the parts of the gate were of cut stone except the doors or gates proper which were of iron. Within the walls there were two store houses 90 feet long and 30 feet wide, two stories high and gable-roofed. Two buildings used by the commandant and the commissary each 96 feet long and 30 feet wide. Two groups of four barracks each 135 feet long and 36 feet wide. One powder magazine some 45 feet long and 30 feet wide. A smaller magazine and a bake oven and stables for horses. There were two wells, a rather large one and one of ordinary size. They were both walled with broken rocks much as the farmers in hilly regions wall their wells. These two wells are to be seen today apparently in as good condition as they were in the days of the French and Indian war. Engineers who have surveyed the site state there were about four acres within the walls. Just in front of the gate and portico was a spacious parade ground which may also be seen today, though overgrown with briers and shrubs. One may, in his imagination, reconstruct this great fortress that is supposed to have cost a $1,000,000 in our money.

The commandants who ruled at Fort Chartres from the time it was first established to the close of the French and Indian war were as follows:

Duque de Boisbriant	1718-1725
Du Tisne	1725-1726
De Lieite	1726-1730
St. Ange de Bellerive	1730-1734
Pierre D'Artaguiette	1734-1736
De la Bussoniere	1736-1740
Benoist De St. Claire	1740-1743
Chevalier De Bertel	1743-1749
Benoist De St. Claire	1749-1751
Chevalier de Macarty	1751-1760
Neyon De Villiers	1760-1764
St. Ange de Bellerive	1764-1765

Illinois in the French and Indian War

The French government began to send soldiers and military supplies to Fort Chartres as soon as it was seen there would be a clash of arms over the control of the Ohio valley. Among the

officers was a Captain Neyon de Villiers, whose brother, Coulon de Villiers, was in command at Fort du Quesne. When the French detachment was sent from Fort De Quesne to meet Colonel Washington at Little Meadows, the little army was in command of an officer by the name of Jumoville de Villiers, a brother to the commander at Fort Du Quesne, and of Neyon de Villiers at Fort Chartres.

When word reached Coulon de Villiers at Fort Du Quesne that his brother had been killed at the Little Meadows, word was sent to the third brother, Neyon de Villiers at Fort Chartres, to come at once to Fort Du Quesne with his company. This he did and toward the end of June he reached Fort Du Quesne with his grenadiers. The two brothers then marched toward Fort Necessity, and on the morning of the 3d of July, 1754, they attacked the fort and on the morning of July 5, 1754, Washington surrendered. Thus we see that Illinois troops under the command of an officer stationed in an Illinois fort took part in the capture of the "Father of his Country."

Illinois performed other service in the French and Indian war. The French villages along the Mississippi furnished supplies, and men in addition to those sent under Neyon de Villiers in 1754. The supplies were sent down the Mississippi and up the Ohio to Fort Du Quesne. Chevalier de Macarty was in command of Fort Chartres from 1751 to 1760 and was untiring in his devotion to the cause of his king. In 1760 this Frenchman with an Irish name retired from the command of this great fort and his successor, Neyon de Villiers, was appointed to the command. Neyon de Villiers was a popular commander, for his name is found on many of the certificates of marriages as shown in the records of the St. Anne's Parish.

While still under Chevalier Macarty, as the war proceeded, Neyon de Villiers was a constant and never failing support to the French at Fort Du Quesne. The commandant at this fort reported to the governor of Canada that he was in sore need of supplies. He wrote to Macarty—"We are in sad want of provisions. I send to you for flour and pork." Shortly after this the governor of Canada wrote to the home government—"I knew the route from the Illinois was as fine as could be desired. Chevalier Neyon de Villier, who commands the escort of provisions from here, came up with a bateau of 18,000 weight. This makes known a sure communication with the Illinois whence I can derive succor in provisions and men." "The tireless De Villiers, hardly resting from his escort, duly crossed the Alleghanies with his men, and captured Fort Granville, on the Juaniata." The Marquis de Montcalm, writing of the work done by the Illinois soldiers, says: "The news from the Beautiful River is excellent. We continue to devastate Pennsylvania. Chevalier de Villiers, brother of Jumonville, who was assassinated by the British, has

just burned Fort Granville, sixty miles from Philadelphia." Captain Aubry was sent from Fort Chartres with 400 men to reenforce the garrison at the Forks of the Ohio. Captain Aubry defeated Major Grant and his Highlanders, and surprised an English camp forty-five miles from Fort Duquesne and rode back to the fort upon the captured horses. Illinois troops were in Fort Duquesne when Washington captured the place in 1758 and made their escape down the Ohio by the light of the burning fort.

When Quebec fell before General Wolfe's Red Coats on the Plains of Abraham in the middle of September, 1759, it was known that Canada or New France would go to the English. But public men in the Louisiana Territory could not see any reason why Louisiana should be given up to the English. The Illinois French were greatly shocked when they learned that the Illinois as well as the lower parts of Louisiana on the East of the river had been given over to the English. It is said that Bienville, now an old man in Paris with tears in his eyes, pleaded that Louisiana might not be ceded to the English.

End of the War

The treaty which closed the war was signed in Paris February 10, 1763. By the terms of the treaty all of New France was ceded to the English and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River excepting the City of New Orleans. Neyon de Villiers was in command at Fort Chartres and there were still those who thought that the French king would be able by some sort of diplomacy to retain the Illinois country. Just at this uncertain period an expedition arrived at Fort Chartres from New Orleans. It was led by a man of great means and wide business experience. This man was Pierre LaClede. He represented a company of rich merchants in New Orleans who wished to found at some suitable point in the Illinois country a large fur trading establishment. He reached Fort Chartres with a large stock of valuable goods. Neyon de Villiers allowed him to store his goods in the fort and his men were allowed also to make the fort their stopping place. La Clede soon learned that the Illinois country had been ceded to the British. He was greatly disappointed. He hastily surveyed the western bank of the Mississippi, never dreaming that that territory, too, had secretly been handed over to the Spanish government for safe keeping. After some time spent in inspecting several locations he finally settled on the mounds where the City of St. Louis is now located. In the spring of 1764 he moved his goods to the west side of the Mississippi and thus the great City of St. Louis had its beginning.

The veteran St. Ange de Bellerive, who had been in charge of the fort at Vincennes, came in 1764 to relieve Neyon de Villiers who had done so much for the French and for the Illinois country.

Although the Lilies of France were still waving over Fort Chartres it was known that the British were only awaiting a favorable time when they would pull down the Lilies and run up the Union Jack. When it was generally understood that the British would eventually take possession of the Illinois country, there was a regular exodus from the villages of the Illinois, and this notwithstanding the proclamation of the English commander in chief that they might remain in possession of all their property, and might enjoy their religion undisturbed.

Pontiac's War

In the French and Indian war the Algonquin Indians were favorable to the French while the Iroquois Indians were generally with the English. The Algonquins—particularly their leaders—fully believed that the lands surrendered to the English might with united efforts on the part of the Indians and French be taken from the English and restored to the French king. The Indians were sullen and discontented. They looked on, while the forts, settlements, and trading stations in the northwest were being transferred to the English with revengeful eyes. And while there seems at first to have been little organization or concerted action, as time passed the opposition to the English occupation grew more and more formidable. The first outward manifestation of this savage animosity was shown when Major Rogers with a detachment of British soldiers was marching to Detroit to take formal possession, Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, presented obstructions and inquired why this army should be marching across his possessions. Major Rogers handled the case very diplomatically. He assured Pontiac that he was fully authorized by the British government to take peaceable possession of the lands which the treaty of Paris had transferred to the British king. After some minor points had been considered the two men smoked the peace pipe and the soldiers soon reached their destination. But Pontiac brooded over the changed conditions. The French had been very affable and considerate while the English were haughty and contemptuous. The French had mingled freely with the Indians, had shared their hardships and their joys. The priests had endeared themselves to the savages by attending their sick, baptizing their children, burying their dead and leading them to believe in the Christian religion. The more Pontiac thought these things over, and built up in his imagination the conditions when the English should occupy the land, the more he thought they should never be allowed to dispossess the French. He therefore organized a conspiracy among the several Indian tribes looking to the complete annihilation of English power in New France and Louisiana. The plan was to fall with savage fury upon all the forts

and settlements where the English had dispossessed the French. The plan was well laid and was carried out with the usual savage atrocities. Fort Pitt (old Fort Duquesne) and Detroit were the only places of any importance which were able to drive off the attacking redskins. The red savages wreaked their vengeance upon unprotected settlements and murdered or carried into captivity hundreds of white settlers. The French officers who were in command of the forts throughout Louisiana and Canada regions, at the close of the war, had been asked by the British government to retain those commands till the British could come with sufficient military force to hold the country and preserve order. Many of these French officers were suspected of conniving with the Indians and in some cases of giving them aid. But these charges of bad faith are probably not true in any case.

When the British government found that the conspiracy was really getting to be a formidable reality, it sent General Bradstreet into the disturbed region, who succeeded in pacifying a few of the western tribes. Colonel Boquet successfully met a large body of braves in Western Pennsylvania and when the Indians found that the British government was determined upon the restoration of order and the establishment of British authority in the newly conquered territory, they agreed to a general peace which was signed December 5, 1764. But Pontiac personally had no part in the making of the treaty and would not agree to abide by its terms. He insisted that the French had not kept faith with him, at least he was greatly disappointed in not receiving any help from them.

Pontiac was deserted by the tribes upon whom he had relied for help. He seemed now alone in the struggle and with a heavy heart he came into the Illinois country, thinking he might create some interest among the Indians here. He found Neyon de Villiers in command at Fort Chartres. They were old time friends. Pontiac laid his plans before Villiers, but the latter told him promptly that the treaty had been signed and sealed, and that his scheme could have no support whatever. Shortly after, he returned to Fort Chartres again and plead with St. Ange de Bellerive to assist him in his efforts to keep the British out of the Illinois country. St. Ange followed the example set by de Villier and gave no countenance to the scheme of the wily savage.

In the spring of 1764, Major Loftus, with a force of 400 men, started up the Mississippi to accept the formal surrender of Fort Chartres, the only place where the French flag was still waving. He was met down the Mississippi from Fort Chartres and attacked by Pontiac's braves and after suffering a severe defeat he returned to New Orleans. In May, 1765, Col. George

Croghan, a trader and pioneer, with friendly Indians and whites, came down the Ohio and made an encampment on the Ohio where Shawneetown is today, and sent word to the French at Fort Chartres. At daybreak on the morning of the 8th of June, 1765, they were attacked by the Indians; some were killed and the remainder captured. They were all forced to march to Vincennes and from there to Detroit. Thus the second attempt by the British to reach Fort Chartres failed. The Lilies of France were still flying over the Illinois country.

Colonel Croghan, however, was able to make terms with Pontiac and later the latter publicly acknowledged his relinquishment of all claim to the right to rule the Illinois country. At Detroit he said to Colonel Croghan: "Father, we have all smoked together this peace pipe, and as the Great Spirit has brought us together for good, I declare to all the nations that I have made peace with the English. In the presence of all the tribes now assembled, I take the King of England as my father, and dedicate this pipe to his use, that henceforth we may visit him and smoke together in peace."

The military contingent which was to follow Colonel Croghan did not leave Fort Pitt till late in the autumn of 1765. It consisted of 120 men from the Forty-second Regiment of the Scotch Highlanders under command of Captain Sterling. They made their way down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and on the 10th of October, 1765, the ensign of France was lowered from the walls of old Fort Chartres and the cross of St. George rose in its place. The French commandant, to whom fell this sad duty of hauling down the Lilies of France, was St. Ange de Bellerive, a Canadian officer of rare tact and good judgment. Neyon de Villiers, the only living brother of a family of seven all of whom had given their lives for the French cause in America, had sadly taken his departure with a few devoted friends for New Orleans a year before. St. Ange de Bellerive, with twenty-one faithful soldiers, took their departure for St. Louis, a new village on the west side of the river above Cahokia.

Proclamation of 1763

Captain Sterling brought with him to Fort Chartres a proclamation issued by the authority of the King of England and signed by the King's military chief, General Gage. The purpose of this proclamation was to reassure the French inhabitants of the purpose of the British government to deal fairly with the King's new subjects. These new subjects of the English King were already leaving the Illinois country by the hundreds.

"Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his Majesty, though de-

layed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

"That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian King (the King of France), may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty (the King of Spain), and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the King.

"That they are commanded by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all cause of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an enemy into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at headquarters, New York—signed with our hand—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By his excellency, G. MATURIN."

The population of the Illinois country at the time of its transfer to the English was estimated as follows:

"White men able to bear arms	700
White women	500
Children	850
Negroes, both sexes	900
Total	2950

It is estimated that at least one-third of all the people left when it was finally known that the British would take charge of Illinois. Many went to St. Louis, some to Cape Girardeau, some to St. Mary's, and many to New Orleans.

Some will want to know the end of a man who could for three years thwart the power of a great government like England. After he signed a final treaty with Colonel Croghan, he wandered about like a man without a country. He came into the west and lived in the forest where he could meditate on the great events of the past decade. He is said to have lived as the red men had lived in an earlier day and to have secured the food for his wife and children by hunting and fishing. All this, notwithstanding the fact that he had held a high military rank in the French organization, and wore on public occasions the uniform of a French officer, which is said to have been given him shortly before the battle on the Plains of Abraham.

In his hours of loneliness in the forests he would recall the days when Frenchmen were his friends, and there arose a great desire to renew, even if only temporarily, his former friendships and acquaintances. On one such occasion he visited St. Louis in April, 1769, to spend some time with two very highly respected friends, Pierre Chouteau and St. Ange de Bellerive. He had been cordially received and hospitably entertained by the two noted Frenchmen and was about ready to return to his haunts in the forests, when he learned that there was a large party of Indians carousing at old Cahokia, just across in Illinois from St. Louis. He expressed his desire to join these Indians and enter once more into the joys of strong drink. He was unavailingly dissuaded from carrying out his intentions. He joined the revelers and became intoxicated. He may have made unwise threats at this time, at least it was reported that an English trader hired a trifling Kaskaskia Indian to kill Pontiac. The pay the Indian received for his dastardly deed was a barrel of whisky. His body lay where it fell from the blow of a tomahawk until his white friend, St. Ange de Bellerive, came from St. Louis and claimed the body as that of his former friend. He removed it to St. Louis where decent burial was accorded it at the hands of the two French friends. In after years a bronze tablet was attached to a building which stood over the grave of the great Indian chieftain.

CHAPTER X

FRENCH CONTRIBUTION TO ILLINOIS LIFE*

After the French Dominion—The Advent of Other Settlers—The French Elsewhere in Illinois—At Bourbonnais and Kankakee.

The influence exerted by the French people who first settled Illinois might be viewed either from what they were and what they did while they were in possession and control and from the situation and circumstances as affected by them or what they had done after they had been superseded in control and virtually in possession.

Regarding the early French inhabitants much has been written, and much of which is by way of criticism, but the critics were all foreigners or visitors or enemies. Those who lived amongst the French and knew them intimately as well as those who have made a study of their lives, give a different view.

John Reynolds, who became governor of Illinois, was Illinois' earliest historian. He dwelt amongst the French virtually all his life and has left us this picture of them:

"The leaders of the first French settlements of Illinois were men of talents and for the most part, of classic education. They were characters of the first order and rank in any society, while the *payans, voyageurs* and *couriers du bois* were innocent, honest and kind and obedient to the commands of their leaders. * * * The society in Illinois before any government was organized was moral, honest and innocent and perhaps no more happiness in any other condition could be enjoyed. * * * Kaskaskia for many years was the largest town west of the Alleghany mountains. It was a tolerable place before the existence of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati or New Orleans. * * * The people being governed by the precepts of the Gospel, enforced by the power and influence of the church, formed a pious and religious community which was the basis of the happiness of the Illinois people in the primitive times."

Clarence Walworth Alvord, the leading historian of the west of the present day, gives these early French people and the manner of their lives full credit and a high place:

"Although priests and governors made loud complaint of the disorderliness of the *habitants,* yet their pleasures and vices were of a far milder type than those of their counterparts, the American backwoodsmen. The French always retained a respect for law and constituted authority. * * * The picture

*Contributed by Joseph J. Thompson.

of the village would be incomplete if limited to a description of the *couriers du bois* and *voyageurs;* for it was never wholly vulgarized and depraved owing to the presence here of many persons from the better classes of France and Canada—the gentry, Clark called them—who, accustomed to greater refinements of life than those of the log cabin endeavored to surround themselves with such little elegancies as might be brought from Canada and elsewhere. * * * These were the men and others like them, to whom Sir William Johnson, the British commissioner, referred when he wrote that the French traders were gentlemen in character, manners and dress, and 'men of ability, influence and address.' "

As a matter of fact an analysis will demonstrate that so far as progress and advancement are concerned the French in Illinois at least kept up with the rest of the world. It proves nothing to point to crude methods of agriculture or other industries employed in the ancient settlements. The same or even cruder methods were at the time employed everywhere.

A resume of the progress of the French people in Illinois shows the establishment of five settlements, viz.: Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Phillippe, and Nouvelle Chartres, and an increase in the population to more than 3,000 French settlers. So prosperous and progressive were agricultural operations that when Captain Pittman visited the region in 1766, he was able to report that one settler, M. Beauvais, furnished 43,000 barrels of flour to the King's commissary in one year and that was only a part of his harvest. In fact the French inhabitants became the providers for the dwellers of the lower Mississippi settlements, the support of the French and British forces in the Mississippi valley and even sent consignments of foodstuffs east in post Revolution days besides supporting and providing for Clark's army and sustaining the Virginia and subsequent governments.

After the French Dominion

The good nature and trustfulness of the French have been painted as supineness. But the French inhabitants of Illinois demanded autonomy from English rule as early as 1770, six years before the Declaration of Independence and five years before the declaration of Mecklenburg. "The French in Louisiana," says Rosengarten in his "French Colonists and Exiles in the United States," "have the glory of having thought of establishing a republican form of government in America in 1768, eight years before the Declaration of Independence." Soon they translated their thoughts into action. On August 24, 1770, pursuant to a call for the purpose, the French residents of Illinois met as Kaskaskia, declared for an autonomous government, and commissioned Daniel Blouin to go to New York and lay their

demands before General Gage, the military ruler. Blouin selected as a fellow commissioner, William Clazon, and after some rebuffs from General Gage, set before that officer a plan of representative government. The plan was rejected, an imperial plan suggested, and ignoring the commissioners, the inhabitants were called together in 1772 to consider the substitute plan. When Hamilton, the lieutenant governor, addressed them he reported, "They were very high on the occasion." And they let him know that they "expected to appoint their governor and all other civil magistrates." Upon being requested to draw up a plan of government they informed Hamilton that they had deputed Daniel Blouin to represent them before General Gage, and that until they could learn what success he had met with they would give no definite answer.

This bit of little known history makes it easy to understand how the French at the very earliest opportunity, which was the campaign of George Rogers Clark in 1778, gladly threw off the British yoke and espoused the American cause.

This period and these events cannot be understood without reference to the French-Canadian priest, Pierre Gibault. He was in every sense the leader of the French in Illinois from his arrival in 1768 to the end of the century. He favored the American cause and was chiefly instrumental in the bloodless but successful conquest of the Illinois posts and of Vincennes and the Wabash country. After the war he sustained the American government in its darkest hours in the west and spent himself and his substance for his country and his people and went to his grave wholly unrequited.

The Advent of Other Settlers

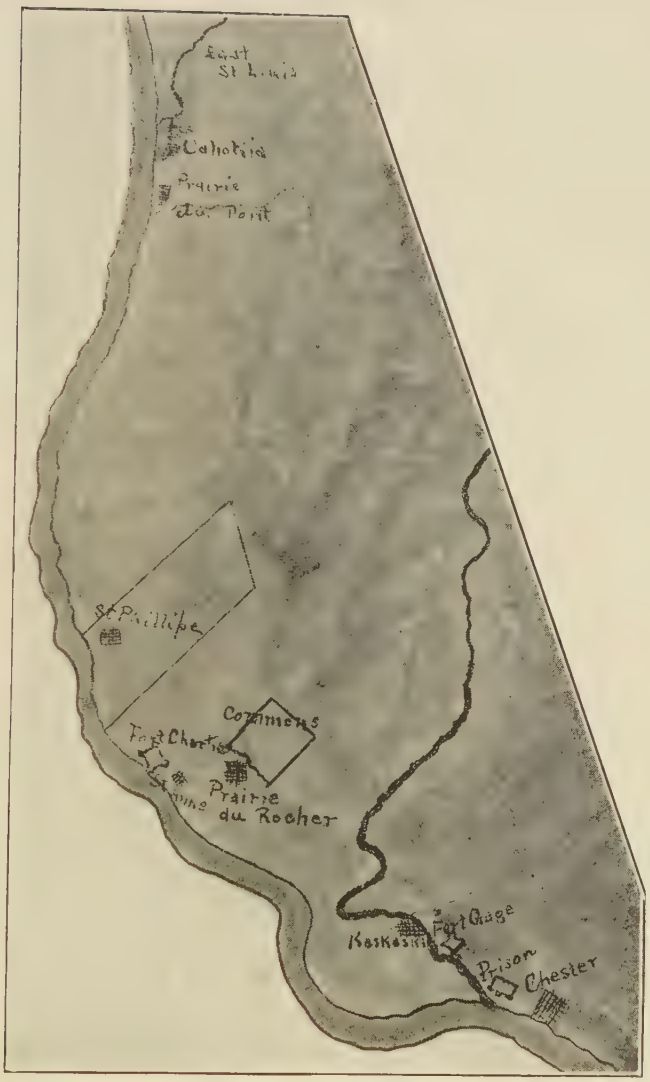
Control passed from the French in Illinois after the Revolutionary war and due perhaps to the fact that few French names appear in the lists of officeholders in the new governments, it has been inferred that the French population ceased to be an element of importance in the subsequent history of Illinois. Loose statements are found in accounts of the period to the effect that all able Frenchmen, men of importance, left Illinois and went to Missouri or elsewhere following the occupation of the former French territory by the English in 1763-5. An examination of the records and established historical data with reference to who left and who remained proves these statements unfounded; for while a number of residents did leave the Illinois side and go over into the Spanish domain on the west side of the Mississippi, it is nevertheless true that in 1790 "Kaskaskia was one of the largest towns west of the Alleghany mountains" and the population was almost wholly French.

It was, of course, a disappointment to the French inhabitants when England came into possession of their country, and they

were at some loss as to what action they would take. In their perplexity they asked the English commander for a period of nine months in which to decide whether they would stay or sell their property and leave. The commander refused so long a period but granted a shorter one, and the inhabitants with his knowledge and consent, petitioned General Gage, the governor general, for a period of nine months' delay. The petition was forwarded by Captain Thomas Stirling, the local English commander, under date of October 18, 1765, and contained the names of the leading Frenchmen of the region as follows: De Rocheblave, La Grange, Gavobert Duplasy, Du Lude, Charleville, Aubochon, Jr., Cerre, H. Brazeaux, Gandouin, J. Baptiste Beauvais, Blouin, Tessier dit La Vigne, Mere Pilotte, Baptiste Moyot, Jacques Bileront, Hubert LaRue, De Girardot, Calamanderie, J. M. Mercier, Lonoval, Janis, Lachanse, J. Lasource, Francois Ricard.

Every one of these prominent people, and some of them, and some of their descendants, became still more prominent, remained in their residences in Illinois until their death, so far as the record discloses, with the exception of Rocheblave, who afterward became the commandant for the English and was the representative of the British power in Kaskaskia when George Rogers Clark, with the invaluable aid of Father Gibault, captured the country and sent Rocheblave a prisoner to Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson in Virginia. Cere later made his home in St. Louis.

There were many other influential Frenchmen not named on the petition who remained, and many others came and stayed. Amongst the important Frenchmen, men of the very highest standing, who were in Illinois during the early days of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Peoria, who remained, may be named Nicholas Jarrot, who was in Illinois from 1794 until his death in 1832. Jean Baptiste Saucier was one of the greatest among the great men of early Illinois who remained here until his death. He was the father-in-law of such noted men in the future history of the community as Col. Pierre Menard, Colonel Choteau, Sr., James Morrison and Adam Snyder. James Francois Perry was here from 1792 until his death. He also married a daughter of Saucier. Michael LeCroix was a very prominent Frenchman who remained here until his death in 1821. The Quentine village was settled by De Lorme and a number of Frenchmen who came into Illinois in 1804. The Penseneaux were some of the most prominent French people that ever came to Illinois and the three brothers with their large families were here during that period. August Choteau remained in the territory and after the War of 1812 was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians. Later he resided in St. Louis.



MAP OF AMERICAN BOTTOM, SHOWING OLD FRENCH VILLAGES

As is well known, Pierre Menard was a leading public man from the time he came into the region until his death, being the leading spirit in the territorial legislature and the first lieutenant-governor of the state.

Judge Gillespie, one of the ablest of the early pioneers, who knew most of the Frenchmen of the period in question, says:

"Certain of these old French families have displayed a vigor and energy which cannot be surpassed. Take, for instance, the Choteaus, the Valles, the Pratts, the Gratiots, old Pierre Menard, and Nicholas Jarrot and his son, Vital, were men whose lives were given to almost romantic business adventure. They were the first to develop the Missouri and Galena lead mines. The 'fur trade' was by some of them carried to a distance of thousands of miles. They had their trading posts all along the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They explored every river that runs into the Mississippi to its source in their trading excursions, and even took in New Mexico when it was a province of Spain. I know of none who has been so instrumental in bringing to light the inexhaustible resources of Missouri and developing the iron industry of St. Louis, as Choteau, Harrison and Valle.

"The 'Mound City' would never have been what she is but for the enterprise, judgment and daring of these old French families. * * * Without them this country would not have been discovered so soon. Without them we should have had greater difficulties to encounter with the Indians. They could penetrate farther into the western wilds than the Americans. They were better acquainted with the Indian character than we were.

"To some of these we are indebted in more recent times. It may not be generally known, but is nevertheless true, that one of the finest military engineers in the world was General Gratiot, who designed and constructed Fortress Monroe, and who for a long time was at the head of the engineering department of the United States. He was a man of the strictest integrity, added to great professional ability. If that fortress had not been so formidable, and had fallen into the hands of the rebels, it might have cost greater efforts and loss of life and treasure, to have maintained the supremacy of the law and integrity of the Union. General Gratiot belonged to one of those French families. I can say that, after devoting all his energies to the promotion of the welfare of his country, General Gratiot was poorly requited."

Not Gratiot alone, but all the French were poorly requited. It is interesting to note the conclusions of Dunn, the Indiana historian:

"In truth, our French friends fared hardly under American rule, and none so badly as Father Gibault, who did not get any return in land as a militiaman or the head of a family. * * *

He never received a particle of compensation from Virginia or the United States for his services and he never received one cent of repayment for money and goods actually furnished to the troops. The situation seems almost incredible, but it was a horrible reality. The French claimants had neither the knowledge nor the pecuniary ability to press their claims and there was no one to do it for them."

From his examination of documents and records Dr. Alvord concludes that the men who gave most generously and suffered most for the American cause in Illinois were Daniel Murray, Richard Winston, Cere, Janis, the Charlevilles, the Beauvais, Duplasy, the Bienveneaus, of Kaskaskia, Barbeau of Prairie du Rocher, Godin, Trottier, Gibault, La Croix, Gratiot, and Macarty of Cahokia, La Gros, Huberdean, and Bosseron of Vincennes and Vigo with possibly others of St. Louis. But, he says, "In fact the list of those who at this time or later furnished supplies on credit is a very long one, including almost every man of property in Illinois. Gratiot of Cahokia, Cere of Kaskaskia, and Vigo of St. Louis have always received due credit for the assistance they furnished, but they were more active than the other members of the French villages. * * * Richard Winston, who at the time of Clark was regarded as wealthy, died in poverty; and the Beauvais family was reduced to almost the same extremity."

The French Elsewhere in Illinois

It has already been seen that Marquette, Joliet, La Salle, and Deforest all were connected in one way or another with Chicago, and when time of permanent settlement came it was Frenchmen that founded and settled that city.

Beyond doubt the first white man about modern Chicago was Antoine Ouilmette, the old Frenchman for which the thriving City of Wilmette has been named. He was about the region in 1790. The next Frenchman was Francis La Mai. He and Jean Baptiste Peltiere and their families were living at the present site of Chicago in 1699 for on October 7th of that year they traveled to Missouri and had their children baptized in the cathedral at St. Louis by Rev. C. Lusson, as appears by the baptismal record still extant.

The first white men to come to Chicago after the Chicago massacre of 1812 and began the settlement over again, were the Beaubiens, John Baptiste and Mark, and their families, Paul and Joseph La Framboise, and Pierre LeClerc. At the time Chicago was incorporated in 1831, 90 per cent of the people there were French.

Amongst men of distinction in early Chicago who were French besides those named, may be mentioned Joseph Bailey, Medard Beaubien, a prominent business man, and Charles H. Beaubien, a graduate of Princeton and almost the first school teacher in

Chicago. A little later there were amongst the French citizens, Peter De Mevelle, who came to Chicago in 1837. P. J. Rofino, David Franchere, N. Franchere, O. J. Franchere, Joseph Le Pitre, Doctors Mrguerat and Henrotin, J. Menard, P. L. Labbe, Joseph Poitras, Cyril LeBeau, J. B. Valliquet, Victor Gerardin, Duchene De Meville. Later, Z. P. Brosseau, the Plamondons, and the Bergerons and many others.

At Borbounnais and Kankakee

The modern City of Kankakee and its surrounding territory was settled and developed by the French. Borbounnais Grove was the place of pioneer settlement and Noel Le Vasseur was the pioneer settler, arriving there in 1832. He was soon joined by Henry Boucher, Dominic Brais, Louis Granpre, Elois Bergeron and John Flageole. The settlement grew and prospered and the Frenchmen from various parts settled throughout the country.

Among deserving names of Frenchmen of a later day than old Kaskaskia should be mentioned Pierre LaClede, the founder of St. Louis, and his but little less noted associate, Pierre Choteau; Francis De Langdale of Wisconsin, Antoine LeClaire of Iowa, the founder of Davenport, Solomon Juneau and Joseph Le Croix of Milwaukee, Louis Viviat of several states, Pierre Navarre, thirty-six of whose names and connections fought on the side of the United States in the War of 1812, the Godefroi brothers and their numerous descendants whose name has become Godfrey, all of whom had more or less connection with the progress and development of Illinois.

The geography of Illinois bears the impress of the French in a long list of names of rivers, counties and cities, such as Champaign, Fayette, Joliet, La Grange, La Harp, La Salle, Marengo, Marseilles, Massac, Menard, Meredosia, Prairie Du Rocher, Rochelle, Saint Anne and others.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, in an article in the Century magazine on "The Distribution of Ability in the United States" (reprinted in his "Historical and Political Essays"), says:

"If we add the French and the French Huguenots together, we find that people of the French blood exceed absolutely, in the ability produced, all other races represented in Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography, except the English and Scotch Irish, and show a percentage in proportion to their original immigration much higher than that of any other race."

To sum up: Frenchmen discovered, explored and settled Illinois and for a full century held sway in the wilderness surrounded by savages, some of whom they tamed and civilized. French missionaries brought and spread Christianity here, making Illinois the seat of the Catholic Church in mid-America; the French laid the foundations of our prosperity and conquered

the wilderness. Frenchmen in Illinois gave the world the first and best example of civilizing the savage. Frenchmen of Illinois gave success to the Virginia conquest and gained for the United States a vast empire. The French priest, Pierre Gibault, who rendered valuable and, in this, the most important event in the history of the region between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, and the Frenchman and others who aided him deserve the undying gratitude of all succeeding generations.

CHAPTER XI

ILLINOIS UNDER BRITISH CONTROL

MOVEMENT WEST—DESCRIPTION OF ILLINOIS—A PROPHECY—COURTS ESTABLISHED—CAPTAIN PHILIP PITTMAN—FORT CHARTRES ABANDONED—THE QUEBEC ACT.

By the unfurling of the banner of Great Britain over the ramparts of Fort Chartres October 10, 1765, the civil and military jurisdiction of the British Empire was extended to include all the continent of North America East of the Mississippi as far north and including Hudson Bay. The precarious hold which Spain had on the Floridas modifies the above statement. A million and a half of population, almost wholly English, was fairly regularly distributed over that part of the above territory south of the St. Lawrence, north of Florida, and east of the Alleghanies. They were gradually moving west and seeking the passes in the Alleghanies, and the routes to the west around the south end, and through the low barriers of the north end. Already individuals from the "Old Thirteen" had crossed over and had spied out the land in the rich river valleys. In addition the French and Indian war had furnished an opportunity for many adventurous spirits to become enamored of the New West—the "back country" as the Virginians called the country west of the Alleghany. Pennsylvania's grant extended west far enough to include all the streams that make up the headwaters of the Ohio and many of her own people had gone into this region and had established permanent settlements.

MOVEMENT WEST

There was therefore before the close of the French and Indian wars a great body of English settlers west of the Alleghany Mountains from the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. This movement of the bone and sinew of the "Old Thirteen" beyond the mountains alarmed the Royal governors and protests were sent to the British government. Just as soon as the war closed therefore the King issued his celebrated proclamation of October 7, 1763, as follows (abridged):

"No governor or commander-in-chief shall grant warrants of survey, or pass patents, for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest, or upon any lands whatever, which have not been ceded to or purchased by us, such lands are reserved to the

Indians. And it is strictly forbidden on pain of our displeasure, for any or all of our loving subjects to make any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of Indian lands without our special leave or license, for that purpose first obtained.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in purchasing lands of the Indians to the great prejudice of our interests and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent; we do, with the advice of our privy council strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlements.

But that, if at any time any of the Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively, within the limits of any proprietors, comfortably to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose."

Notwithstanding this very explicit instruction to the King's agents in America, the work of making grants went on in an open-faced manner. So many people were moving over the mountains that George III wrote a letter to John Penn, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania on October 24, 1765, in which he gives him direction as to this matter:

"Whereas, it hath been represented unto us that several persons from Pennsylvania and the back settlements of Virginia have migrated to the westward of the Alleghany mountains, and these have seated themselves on lands contiguous to the River Ohio, in express disobedience to our Royal Proclamation of October, 1763, it is therefore our will and pleasure, and you are hereby strictly enjoined and required to use your best endeavors to suppress such unwarrantable proceedings, and to put a stop to these and other like encroachments for the future, by causing all persons belonging to the province under your government who have thus irregularly seated themselves on lands to the westward of the Alleghanies immediately to evacuate those settlements, and that you do enforce as far as you are able, a more strict obedience to our commands signified in Our Said Royal Proclamation, and provide against any future violation thereof."

In 1774 John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore, the last British governor of Virginia, encouraged the people of Virginia "to take warrants from him for lands in the Ohio Valley." Many of these land warrants were issued and the holders crossed over the mountains and laid claims along the Ohio River.

Butler's History of Kentucky gives very readable and accurate accounts of the coming of hunters, settlers, and explorers into the territory which afterwards formed the State of Kentucky. These adventurous Virginians paid no attention to the proclamation of George III forbidding the settling of the territory west of the Alleghanies. It should be kept in mind however, that many of the early men whose names are very familiar in Kentucky's history were not real settlers, but at first they were merely casting about looking for the best lands and locating claims which had been granted by Lord Dunmore, or obtained from the Indians by direct cession. It was not till 1774 that the first permanent home was built—a log cabin built by James Harrod on the present site of Harrodsburg, Kentucky. However, there must have been a rapid influx of settlers in 1774 and 1775, as there were enough people near Harrodsburg to organize a militia company in the spring of 1776.

We have thus shown briefly how the English settlers moved over the Alleghanies and settled in what is now Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky and in Tennessee. But this wave of population had in no instances crossed the Ohio into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. From the day that Captain Sterling ran up the British flag on the walls of Fort Chartres, to the coming of George Rogers Clark in 1778, no English speaking people had come into the Illinois country, except those connected with the little "army of occupation." Between 1765 and 1774, the Illinois country was virtually under a military rule. The Commandants of the Illinois country during the period of British occupation were:

Capt. Thomas Sterling_____1765
Maj. Robert Farmer_____1765-1766
Col. Edward Cole_____1666-1768
Col. John Reed_____1768-1768
Lt. Col. John Wilkins_____1768-1771
Capt. Hugh Lord_____1771-1775
Capt. Mathew Johnson_____1775-1776
Chevalier de Rocheblave_____1776-1778

Description of Illinois

Two letters were written from Fort Chartres during the stay of Captain Sterling. One written by Lieut. James Eidington on October 17, 1765. The other written by Captain Sterling, himself, October 18, 1765. In the letter of October 17, the writer speaks in very uncomplimentary terms of the French soldiers, forty in number, who were holding the fort upon the arrival of Captain Sterling. He says the merchants or storekeepers charged the British soldiers immoderate prices for the things they buy. He says the price of a gallon of brandy is twenty

shillings, and eatables in proportion. The country is fine and the soil very productive, but the land is very flat and hence unhealthful. This Lieutenant says that Fort Chartres is the finest stone fort he has ever seen, but that there are no stores. He says there are several French villages round about. He says they are looking daily for Maj. Alexander Fraser who was coming up the Mississippi from Mobile with the Thirty-fourth Regiment to relieve them. The writer intimates that they are anxious to be relieved.

The second letter referred to above was written by Captain Sterling, October 18, 1765, only eight days after he had accepted the surrender of the fort. He states it took him forty-seven days to come from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres. He says as they passed Kaskaskia going up the Mississippi they found the Kaskaskia Indians very sullen and even threatening. Speaks of St. Genevieve just across in Missouri as having twenty-five families and of St. Louis as having forty families. He says Cahokia is the second largest of the French villages. The village at the fort, New Chartres, was nearly depopulated. Captain Sterling says there are only twenty French soldiers with St. Ange. There were no judges, no police. He complains that he has no interpreter and no presents to give the Indians. He transmits with this letter to General Gage a complete "Proces-Verbal de la Cession Du Fort Chartr." This is a very complete list and description of the fort and everything in and about it.

Captain Sterling found much opposition to the oath of allegiance which he asked the inhabitants to take, and he says that it looked as if every person would go across the river rather than take the oath. He therefore modified the oath to mean that they would be loyal to the King of England so long as they resided in the Illinois country. He estimates that there are fifty families at Kaskaskia, forty at Cahokia, while Prairie du Rocher, New Chartres, and St. Philippe are, practically deserted. He says the fort at Kaskaskia and the one at Cahokia are nearly useless as they have fallen in and are decayed—from which we infer they were constructed of wood.

The second, third and fourth commandants remained, severally, but a short time and there is nothing of consequence to record during their time. But the fifth commandant, Col. John Wilkins ruled some three years and introduced some reforms in the general ongoing of the Illinois country. Colonel Wilkins brought seven companies of soldiers with him from the east. These troops found a new enemy in the material conditions about Fort Chartres. This enemy of good health carried off three officers, twenty-five men, twenty-seven women and children in a few days more than a month's time.

A Prophecy

Sir William Johnson, his Majesty's superintendent of Indian Affairs, gave careful attention to the Indians in the Illinois country. The opposition of the British government to the settling of the back country— the lands west of the Ohio—has been considered in a preceding paragraph. General Gage in writing to the government in England said: "As to increasing the settlements northwest of the Ohio, (in the Illinois country) I conceive it altogether inconsistent with sound policy. In the course of a few years necessity would force them to provide manufactures of some kind for themselves, and when all connection, upheld by commerce, with the mother country shall cease, it may be expected that an independency in her government will soon follow." The governor of Georgia in a letter to the Lords of Trade said: "This matter, my lords, of granting large bodies of land in the back parts of any of his Majesty's northern colonies appears to me in a very serious and alarming light. If a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain, and I apprehend they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, who will set up for themselves, and they will soon have manufactures of their own, and in process of time they will soon become formidable enough to oppose his majesty's authority."

Courts Established

Some of the Commandants who preceded Wilkins were very tyrannical toward the French who had so lately become British subjects. Colonel Wilkins was therefore authorized to organize a system of courts in the Illinois country. This court was to try civil cases. Looking to this end Colonel Wilkins selected seven good men and true who should sit as a court. They were to meet monthly at Fort Chartres. This court held its first session at Fort Chartres Dec. 6, 1768. This has been called the first court of common law jurisdiction ever held in Illinois. There was under this plan no appeal from the decisions of this court as there was no higher law court—and there was no lower law court, so there could be no appeal and it was therefore a court of original jurisdiction. The French citizens did not like this system of jurisprudence, for they could not understand how a jury made up of unlearned farmers, woodsmen, and laborers could make just decisions about the law. For a period of seventy years these people had been ruled by the arbitrary decisions of priests and commandants, and the English system was not at all a welcome change.

It appears that Colonel Wilkins was concerned in some grants of land which he himself made, and which were afterwards con-

firmed by Governor St. Clair of the Northwest Territory. It is claimed that Colonel Wilkins granted many thousands of acres to prominent Americans reserving always one-sixth part of the grant to himself.

In 1773 while Capt. Hugh Lord was commandant at Fort Chartres a company was organized known as the "Illinois Land Company." This company obtained two grants of land from the Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria Indians. One grant included about ten of the most southern counties of Illinois, while the second grant included a strip of land lying along the east side of the Illinois River from its mouth to Chicago and averaging thirty or forty miles in width. These two grants were paid for by the grantees with large quantities of clothing, blankets, powder, guns, flour, corn, horses, cattle, and some money.

Other grants were obtained by a company called the "Wabash Land Company." These grants lay in the eastern part of Illinois and in the west part of Indiana. It is said that all these grants were regularly recorded in the Notary's office at Kaskaskia. These grantees made persistent efforts to get the United States Congress to confirm these grants and for thirty years they plead with Congress, but Congress was firm and refused to be a party to so gigantic a steal.

Capt. Philip Pittman

Capt. Philip Pittman was commissioned an ensign in the British army July 13, 1760. He is supposed to have come from Havana to Pensacola with the British troops that took charge of the Floridas at conclusion of the treaty of Paris in 1763. Parkman says Pittman tried to steal into the Illinois country in the troublous days of Pontiac, as a French trader, but abandoned the enterprise. In the spring of 1765 Pittman was surveying on the lower Mississippi. He ascended the Mississippi River with Maj. Robert Farmer who was on his way to relieve Captain Sterling of the command of Fort Chartres. Major Farmer reached the fort December 4, 1765, and relieved Captain Sterling, having been more than five months on the way from Pensacola. This slow journey up the Mississippi gave Captain Pittman an opportunity to make careful study of all forts, and settlements which had come under the control of Great Britain by reason of the cession of the territory east of the Mississippi to the English.

Captain Pittman as an engineer in the British army was authorized to make careful surveys of all the newly acquired possessions of his government. This he did. It appears that Captain Pittman was under the direction of Gen. Frederick Haldiman who at that time was in command of the Floridas. This appears because his reports of "surveys" are addressed to

General Haldiman and are signed Lieutenant Pittman, Royal Engineer. Lieutenant Pittman returned to England in 1770 and published a small book or pamphlet entitled: "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi."

From the arrangement of the matter in the book it appears as intimated above that the "surveys" were made as he came up the river with Major Farmer. So he commences his description with Balize at the mouth of the southeast pass of the Mississippi. He comes up the river and gives a description of New Orleans and thence up the river to the mouth of the Ohio where he strikes the Illinois country. The first place of course as he comes up the river from the mouth of the Ohio, is the village of Kaskaskia, and this is his description.

Cascasquias

"The village of Notre Dame de Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the country of the Illinois, as well from its number of inhabitants, as from its advantageous situation; it stands on the side of a small river, which is about eighty yards across; its source lies northeast, about sixty leagues from the village, and fifteen leagues east of the remarkable rock of Peorya, and it empties itself with a gentle current into the Mississippi, near two leagues below the village. This river is a secure port for large batteaux, which can lie so close to its bank as to load and unload without the least trouble; and at all seasons of the year there is water enough for them to come up. It must be observed here, that it is extremely dangerous for batteaux or boats to remain in the Mississippi, on account of the bank falling in, and the vast number of logs and trees which are sent down, with a violent force, by the rapidity of the current, as also on account of the heavy gales of wind to which this climate is subject. Another great advantage that Cascasquias receives from its rived is the facility with which mills for corn and planks may be erected on it: Mons. Paget was the first who introduced water-mills in this country, and he constructed a very fine one on the River Cascasquias, which was both for grinding corn and sawing boards; it lies about one mile from the village. The mill proved fatal to him, being killed as he was working in it, with two negroes, by a party of the Cherokees, in the year 1764. The principal buildings are, the church and Jesuits house, which has a small chapel adjoining to it; these, as well as some other houses in the village, are built of stone, and, considering this part of the world, make a very good appearance. The Jesuits plantation consisted of 240 arpens of cultivated land, a very good stock of cattle, and a brewery; which was sold by the French commandant, after the country was ceded to the English, for the crown, in consequence of the

suppression of the order. Mons. Beauvais was the purchaser, who is the richest of the English subjects in this country; he keeps eighty slaves, he furnished 86,000 weight of flour to the King's magazine, which was only a part of the harvest he reaped in one year. Sixty-five families reside in this village, besides merchants, other casual people, and slaves. The fort, which was burnt down in October, 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village, and on the other side of the river; it was an oblongular quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon measured 290 by 251 feet; it was built of very thick squared timber, and dove-tailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers are quartered in the village. The officer governs the inhabitants, under the direction of the commandant at Fort Chartres. Here are also two companies of militia."

La Prairie du Rocher

La Prairie Du Rocher is about seventeen miles from Cascasquias; it is a small village, consisting of twelve dwelling-houses, all of which are inhabited by as many families; here is a litte chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort de Chartres. The inhabitants here are very industrious, and raise a great deal of corn and every kind of stock. This village is two miles from Fort Chartres; it takes its name from its situation, being built under a rock that runs parallel with the River Mississippi at a league distance, for forty leagues up. Here is a company of militia, the captain of which regulates the police of the village."

Fort Chartres

Fort Chartres when it belonged to France was the seat of government of the Illinois; the headquarters of the English commanding officer is now here, who is, in fact, the arbitrary governor of this country. The fort is an irregular quadrangle, the sides of the exterior polygon are 490 feet; it is built of stone and plastered over, and is only designed as a defence against the Indians, the walls being two feet two inches thick, and pierced with loop-holes at regular distances, and with two port-holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion; the ditch has never been finished; the entrance to the fort is through a very handsome rustic gate; within the wall is a small banquette, raised three feet, for the men to stand on when they fire through the loopholes. The buildings within the fort are, the commandant's and commissary's houses, the magazine of stores, corps de garde, and two barracks; these occupy the square. Within the gorges of the bastions are, a powder magazine, a bakehouse, a prison, in the lower floor of which are four dungeons, and in the upper two rooms, and an out-house belonging to the commandant. The commandant's house is

thirty-two yards long, and ten broad; it contains a kitchen, a dining-room, a bed chamber, one small room, five closets for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house (now occupied by officers) is built in the same line as this, its proportions and distribution of apartments are the same. Opposite these are the store-house and guard-house, they are each thirty yards long and eight broad; the former consists of two large store-rooms (under which is a large vaulted cellar) and a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the store-keeper; the latter of a soldier's and officer's guard-rooms, a chapel, a bed-chamber and closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store-room. The lines of barracks have never been finished; they at present consist of two rooms each, for officers, and three rooms for soldiers; they are good spacious rooms of twenty-two feet square, and have betwixt them a small passage. There are fine spacious lofts over each building which reach from end to end; these are made use of to lodge regimental stores, working and intrenching tools, etc. It is generally allowed that this is the most commodious and best built fort in North America. The bank of the Mississippi, next the fort, is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which has been turned from its course by a sand-bank, now increased to a considerable island covered with willows; many experiments have been tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. When the fort was begun in the year 1756, it was a good half mile from the water-side; in the year 1766 it was but eighty paces; eight years ago the river was fordable to the island, the channel is now forty feet deep. In the year 1764 there were about forty families in the village near the fort, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to St. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled at the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government."

Saint Philippe

"Saint Philippe is a small village about five miles from Fort Chartres, in the road to Kaoquias; there are about sixteen houses and a small church standing; all the inhabitants, except the captain of militia, deserted it in 1765, and went to the French side; the captain of militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill for corn and planks. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi.

Kaoquias

"The village of Sainte Famille De Kaoquias is generally reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort Chartres, and six leagues below

the mouth of the River Missouri; it stands near the side of the Mississippi, and is masked from the river by an island of two leagues long; the village is opposite the center of this island; it is long and straggling, being three-quarters of a mile from one end to the other; it contains forty-five dwelling-houses, and a church near its center. The situation is not well chosen, as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet. This was the first settlement on the River Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada, and then resided there, leaving their children to succeed them. The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption; they have a great deal of poultry and good stocks of horned cattle. The mission of St. Sulpice has a very fine plantation here, and an excellent house built on it; they sold this estate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman who chose to remain under the English government. They also disposed of thirty negroes and a good stock of cattle to different people in the country, and returned to France in the year 1764. What is called the fort is a small house standing in the center of the village; it differs in nothing from the other houses except in being one of the poorest; it was formerly enclosed with high palisades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed a fort at this place could be of but little use.

In addition to these brief descriptions of the four villages, Lieutenant Pittman gives some facts about the country, the government, and the people. A few of Pittman's observations will be given, as it is interesting always to know one's judgment at first hand. He says the Illinois country is bounded on the west by the Mississippi, on the north by the Illinois River, on the east by the Quabache, and on the south by the Ohio. The months of March and September are periods of heavy rains and hard gales. The summer months are excessively hot, while January and February are very cold. There are four Indian tribes—the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Michagammies, and the Peorias. They are poor, debauched, and dastardly people. They have about 350 warriors. They are remnants of other tribes scattered about. The products of a very rich soil are all forms of food grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton and tobacco. Wine is made from wild grapes and is very intoxicating. There are buffalo, deer, and wild fowl, such as geese, swans, turkeys, and pheasants. There is also an abundance of fish. In the French and Indian war the Illinois country furnished vast quantities of flour, beer, wine, hams and other provisions.

His description of the government applies to the years prior to the coming of the British. The country was governed by a

major-commandant who was appointed by the governor of Louisiana at New Orleans; and he was usually some relative or friend of the governor. The Indian trade was under the control of the commandant. All Indians entertained at a French post were provided for at the expense of the King of France. There was much grafting by the commandant in his dealings with the Indians. All able-bodied men were enrolled in the militia and the officers were appointed by the commandant. A certain amount of free labor was required from each able-bodied man on roads, bridges, forts, or other public works.

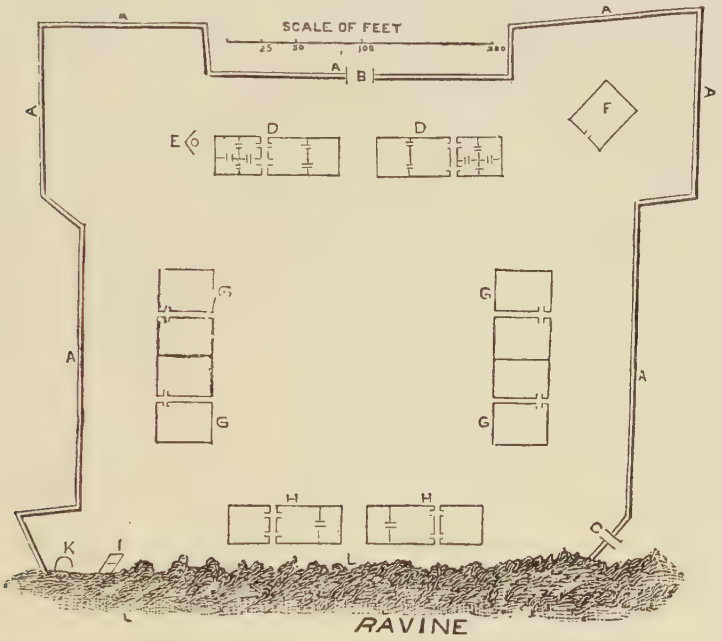
There were four classes of people in the Illinois country. First there were the Indians; second, the French, who had either come from Canada or direct from France by way of the lower Mississippi; third, the Negroes, who were the descendants of the slaves brought by Renault in 1519, together with others that had been brought up the Mississippi in more recent years; and lastly a considerable group of mixed breeds. (This mixed race may be seen in the vicinity of Prairie du Rocher at the present time.) The men are superstitious and ignorant, physically well made, can bear much fatigue, and are skilled in woodcraft. The chief trades are carpenters, smiths, masons, tailors, and millwrights.

Fort Chartres Abandoned

The site of Fort Chartres was on the alluvial lands within a mile of the Mississippi. And this river, which, Mr. Mason says, had always been a French river, wished to take out vengeance upon the English, and so in the spring of 1772 the rains came and the floods descended, the Mississippi rose and plowed through the rich, black, alluvial soil between the fort and the river, and attacked the fort, tore away a bastion, and undermined the south wall of the fort. The British soldiers hastened across the low valley to the hills near Prairie du Rocher and afterwards moved to Fort Gage, to the east of the Kaskaskia River, near the Village of Kaskaskia. Governor Reynolds visited the old fort in 1802 and says: "It is an object of antiquarian curiosity. The trees, undergrowth, and brush are mixed and interwoven with the old walls—large trees were growing in the houses which once contained the elegant and accomplished French officers and soldiers."

Major Stoddard, of the United States Engineers, visited Fort Chartres and thus described it: "Its figure is quadrilateral with four bastions, the whole of limestone well cemented. The walls are still entire. The enclosure is covered with trees from 7 to 12 inches in diameter. In fact it is a splendid ruin." Judge Brackenridge said of it in 1817: "Fort Chartres is a noble ruin. The walls, barracks, and magazine are still standing. There is a number of cannon lying half buried in the earth with their trunnions broken off." Another visitor to the old fort in 1820

says: "The walls in some places perfect, the buildings in ruins, except the magazine, and in the hall of one of the houses an oak growing, eighteen inches in diameter." Judge James Hall, who visited the place in 1829, says: "Although the spot was familiar to my companions, it was with some difficulty that we found the ruins, which are covered over with a vigorous growth of forest trees and a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines. The buildings were all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundation could be easily traced. And it was curious to see in the gloom



OUTLINE PLAN OF OLD FORT CHARTRES.

Drawn from a survey made in 1820 by Nicholas Hansen and Lewis C. Beck

of the wild forest these remnants of the architecture of a past age." Fort Chartres was visited in 1849 by Governor Reynolds, who found it a "pile of moldering ruins and the walls torn away almost even with the surface."

The Quebec Act

As the determined attitude of the American Colonists towards the British policy of Colonial control became better known in England, the government became more determined to crush the opposition by repressive acts. So in 1774 four acts were passed by the English Parliament having for their purpose the crushing out of opposition in the colonies, particularly in Massachusetts.

These acts provided: (1) For the closing of the port of Boston to all commerce. (2) For the suspension of the operations of the Massachusetts charter, and the substitution of military control. (3) For the trial of British agents, who might be accused of criminal acts in the discharge of their duty, outside (presumably in England) of the colony in which the offense was committed. (4) For the quartering of British troops in the town and villages in the colonies.

Before we discuss the Quebec Act, let us recall the Proclamation of 1763. In this proclamation the King of England provided for the government of the territory which had been wrested from France and Spain by the treaty which closed the French and Indian war. The old thirteen English colonies were not disturbed by the proclamation which was put out in 1763. All the French settlements on the St. Lawrence were included in a province to be known as Quebec, with certain definite boundary lines. Two new provinces were created out of the Spanish territory on the Gulf of Mexico to be known as East and West Florida. All the lands north of West Florida, west of the Alleghanies, east of the Mississippi River and reaching as far north as the Great Lakes was to be known as the Indian country. This Indian country included all the French settlements along the Mississippi on the east side, those on the Wabash, the Illinois, Detroit, Mackinaw, Green Bay, and other settlements of minor importance.

There was in the Proclamation of 1763 also a clause which was intended as a direct check upon a movement which was just beginning in the old thirteen colonies. It forbade the settling of the country west of the Alleghanies. But in spite of this there was a constant stream of people going into the region which was afterwards made into West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The treaty of 1763 was followed by the King's proclamation which we have just seen made disposition of the newly acquired territory. For ten years there had been an unsatisfactory condition existing in Canada and in the Indian country. Indian affairs and the fur trade were badly managed. The Canadians did not like the English political system, particularly the judicial system. Nor was the religious situation entirely satisfactory. There was no participation by the Canadians in their government. They had no elective or legislative privileges. The British Government had been considering a readjustment of conflicting interests in New France and the Indian country for several years, and it so happened that Parliament enacted the law which we call the Quebec Act shortly after the passage of the four intolerable acts enumerated above.

The Quebec Act provided that the boundaries of the province should be enlarged to include all that part of the Indian country

which lay north of the Ohio River. Another provision was that the governor of Quebec should have as a council not less than seventeen nor more than twenty-three persons. The governor and this council constituted the legislative branch of government, and all ordinances passed by this body should be laid before His Majesty for his royal sanction or disapproval. This body could do nothing toward laying taxes, nor could they legislate about religious matters. A third provision guaranteed the enjoyment of the "Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy." The inhabitants who professed the Catholic religion were not obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy, but must swear allegiance to the King. Again the English criminal law was made the supreme law of the land in all criminal cases.

The passage of this law at the time or shortly after the passage of the intolerable acts could not be disassociated from them by the colonists. They charged the British Government with establishing by law the Catholic religion as the state religion in the new Province of Quebec. They argued that if England could establish the Catholic religion in one colony or province, by the same token she could make that faith the established religion in any other colony. There was still another serious opposition among the English colonists to the Quebec Act. The movement of population over the mountains, and the peopling of the Ohio valley, was now gaining headway every year and the incorporation of that part of the Indian country north and west of the Ohio into the Province of Canada could be viewed in no other light by many than an effort to obstruct the emigration of the people of the old thirteen colonies. We may recall that large quantities of land had been granted to individuals and to companies within the Indian country north of the Ohio River. The people who were thus interested looked upon the passage of the Quebec Act as endangering their rights in these grants.

When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence he enumerated the charges which the English colonists held against the King of Great Britain. In this document we read:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province (Quebec and Illinois), establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

There can be little doubt that the outcome of the French and Indian war brought the British Government face to face with problems which she was not ready to solve. What can be learned proves that the government had no constructive policy as to the handling of the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. It was fairly easy to convert the Floridas into English provinces, and so with regard to Quebec. But while every one of the old

thirteen colonies had more or less of self-government—each had a legislature and local self-government—there was no self-government provided for any one of the three new provinces. The excuse was that the population was too sparse to justify any effort at self-government. The proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, relative to the Illinois country, was a delay of any definite policy. It was a negative proclamation. "We do declare it to be our Royal Will and pleasure for the present to reserve our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all lands and territories" lying west of the Alleghanies, north of the Floridas, east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. "For the present" shows a vacillating policy in dealing with a great question.

The inhabitants of the Illinois petitioned to be annexed to the Province of Canada. There was no government established for the French villages on the Mississippi, the land speculators were already crowding into this territory, and it was thought that the placing of all this region north and west of the Ohio under the government of the French interests of Canada would drive the land speculators out and would also pacify the French inhabitants of the Illinois villages.

CHAPTER XII

CLARK'S CONQUEST OF ILLINOIS

KENTUCKY SETTLERS—GEORGE ROGERS CLARK—INSTRUCTIONS—DOWN THE OHIO—DR. LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER—MARCH ACROSS SOUTHERN ILLINOIS—THE CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA—CAPTURE OF CAHOKIA—VINCENNES SURRENDERED—ILLINOIS COUNTY, VIRGINIA

The conflict of arms between the American colonies and the mother country began in the spring of 1775, at the battles of Lexington and Concord. Following these two engagements, on the 19th of April, 1775, the fife and drum assembled the Minute Men in the towns of New England, nor were the towns and plantations of the middle and southern colonies less patriotic. Indeed, all the settlers to the east of the Alleghanies were soon under arms for the preservation of their rights as Englishmen. While war soon became the common lot of the lands to the east of the mountains, in like manner the American settlers along the slopes from the Alleghanies to the Ohio were soon involved in a movement not for their rights as Englishmen, but for the safety of their homes and loved ones. By 1775 a kidney-shaped area in Kentucky starting on the Ohio River, in the present County of Mason, thence running south and west through the counties of Fayette, Bourbon, the eastern part of Jefferson, Mercer, and Nelson contained scores of settlers. There were also well-established settlements on the Great Kanawha, in what is now West Virginia. There had been serious friction between the Indians along the Ohio River and the "land jobbers," as the people were called who came into the Ohio valley with land grant warrants which had been issued by the Earl of Dunmore (John Murray), the last British governor of Virginia. Several of these settlers were killed and a war ensued, led by one Greathouse on the part of the whites. In these conflicts several Indians were killed. Among the Indians killed were the members of the Indian chief Logan's family. Governor Dunmore came into the Ohio valley and, after a conflict lasting from the spring to the fall of the year 1774, made peace with the Indians and returned to Virginia.

SETTLERS IN KENTUCKY

Following the Dunmore war, the settlers came over the mountains in increasing numbers. During the war and following, there were continued attacks upon the whites by Indians from

Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It was understood at that time that the British officers about the several posts in the country around the lakes and along the Mississippi and Wabash rivers were provoking the Indians to make incursions into Kentucky and murder and scalp the white settlers. And it was also understood that the Indians were paid so much for each white person's scalp which they should bring back with them. At one time the attacks were so general and so savage that the leading people of the several settlements thought seriously that they would be compelled to abandon their new homes and go over the mountains to their old homes.

It was in the midst of this trying time that George Rogers Clark came into Kentucky. He was a Virginian, born about 1753. He had held an office in the Dunmore war and for meritorious conduct he had been offered a commission in the royal service. This he refused and seems to have passed the winter of 1774-5 in Virginia. In the spring of 1775 he quietly made his appearance at Harrodstown, in Kentucky, where the people were discussing the question whether the settlers then in Kentucky should consider themselves as citizens of the State of Virginia or whether they ought to form an independent state. Col. Richard Henderson, a rather noted Virginian, had, in company with others, secured from the Indians a large grant of land in the central part of Kentucky, and was disposing of it to settlers, and the prices he asked for the lands had created opposition on the part of the settlers. Clark was rather sympathetic with the land company, but at the same time he tried to persuade the people that the thing to do was to unite all the interest within reach against the Indians, who were playing sad havoc among the settlers everywhere.

George Rogers Clark

Clark remained in Kentucky through the summer of 1775, studying the situation, and late in the fall he returned to Virginia. In Virginia he found quite a bit of confusion of ideas about Henderson and his company's claim to lands in Kentucky, and again there was a division of judgment as to whether Virginia had any claim upon the Kentucky territory and settlements. Clark returned to Kentucky in the early spring of 1776 with a very definite plan in his mind. It was to call a public meeting at Harrodstown for the purpose of selecting deputies who might proceed to Virginia and treat with that commonwealth and secure certain conditions that would be favorable to Kentucky in case Virginia claimed Kentucky as a part of her territory. He had as an alternative that if Virginia was not willing to treat with the deputies to their advantage, then his plan was to set up in Kentucky an independent state, and by setting up the theory that the new commonwealth owned all the public lands,

they could dispose of these lands with two ends in view. First, generously to offer this land to people in the old colonies if they would come into Kentucky and make permanent settlements. The second end was to use this land or the income from it for the construction of forts, the purchase of munitions of war, and the maintenance of a well-organized militia.

The meeting was called for June 6, 1776. Clark was several hours late to the meeting, and did not therefore have an oppor-

GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

tunity to help shape public policy. Those present concluded it was the plan to regard themselves as Virginians and to elect representatives to the Virginia Assembly, with instructions to secure from the Assembly an act creating Kentucky a county in Virginia. George Rogers Clark and Gabriel Jones were elected as delegates to the Virginia Assembly. The two delegates proceeded at once, with their instructions, to Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, but before reaching that place they learned that the House of Burgesses had adjourned and they were at a loss as to their future actions. Gabriel Jones proceeded to join the forces then organizing to repel the Indians in the Holston valley, while Clark proceeded to Williamsburg to secure powder

for the defense of the Kentuckians. When Clark reached the Virginia capital, he found that the governor, Patrick Henry, was sick at his home in Hanover. Clark proceeded to that place and placed before the governor the conditions in Kentucky. Governor Henry referred all these matters to his council, who were impressed with the recital of conditions and the needs of the Kentuckians. It was finally agreed after a long discussion to lend the Kentucky people 500 pounds of powder, to be transported from the capital of Virginia to Fort Pitt and thence down the Ohio River to convenient points in Kentucky.

Clark and Jones attended the session of the Legislature in the capital in the fall and were well received by that body. After long delays a bill was passed creating the County of Kentucky with the limits of the present state, and making provision for the government of the same. Clark returned to Kentucky in the spring of 1777, and believing that the Indian attacks upon the Kentucky settlers were instigated and encouraged by the British commanders or agents of the British Government, at Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Detroit and other posts in the Northwest, sent two trusty spies, Benjamin Linn and Samuel Moore, to Kaskaskia to determine whether the British favored directly or indirectly the attacks, whether the French inhabitants were sympathetic with the British or the Americans in the revolution just then in its earlier stages, and thirdly, to find out whether the militia organizations were of considerable size and whether they were efficient.

These two faithful frontiersmen returned in the fall of 1776. They reported to Clark that there was evidence that the British commandants at the several posts in the Northwest were largely if not altogether responsible for the continued attacks upon the people of Kentucky. Second, that there were indications that the native French inhabitants, where they were free to think as they pleased, were quite sympathetic with the American cause. And third, that well-organized and well-trained militiamen were to be found in all the French villages on the Wabash and the Mississippi. Clark's mind was now made up as to his duty. He was not a man who conferred with others very much on problems which he felt the average person ought to solve. No one knew that Linn and Moore had gone to Kaskaskia.

In the fall of 1777, Clark left Kentucky for Virginia. The people declaimed against his going, and Clark says himself that he left them reluctantly. But he told them he would return. It was now Clark's plan to secure an authorization to organize an army of several hundred men for the invasion and conquest of the British posts in the Northwest. This plan he communicated to Governor Patrick Henry. Governor Henry had some misgivings as to the wisdom of this undertaking, but after many secret conferences with his council, it was decided to order the raising and equipping of an army of seven companies of fifty

men each, well officered and provided. The while proceedings were carried on secretly—that is, the Assembly was not asked to enact any laws providing for such a campaign. On the other hand, it was wholly in the hands of the executive of the colony (State of Virginia) and his executive council. It was agreed that Clark should be provided with 6,000 pounds English money, that the Legislature would be asked to grant each individual private who volunteered and went on this campaign 300 acres of land as a bonus, the officers to have a larger allotment.

Instructions

The governor gave to Clark two letters which were to serve as his authority for raising troops and invading the Northwest. One set consisted of a few statements showing the purpose of the campaign to be merely the defense of the Kentucky people; the other was to be kept secret unless such exigencies should arise that it might be necessary to produce evidence of authority from one higher in command. These two instructions are given, as they will show the purpose of the whole movement.

Public Instructions to Clark

On January 2, 1778, Colonel Clark received two sets of instructions relative to his proposed expedition to the Illinois country. One set he was to make public for the purpose of securing recruits for the defense of Kentucky. These instructions were as follows:

"Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark: You are to proceed, without loss of time, to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as a militia under your orders. They are to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them, for three months after their arrival at that place; but to receive pay, etc., in case they remain on duty a longer time.

"You are empowered to raise these men in any county in the commonwealth; and the county lieutenants, respectively, are requested to give you all possible assistance in that business.

"Given under my hand at Williamsburg, January 2nd, 1778.

"P. Henry."

Private Instructions

"Virginia in Council, Williamsburg, January 2d, 1778. Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark: You are to proceed with all convenient speed to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, and armed most properly for the enterprise; and with this force attack the British fort at Kaskaskia.

"It is conjectured there are many pieces of cannon and stores to considerable amount, at that place, the taking and preserva-

tion of which would be a valuable acquisition to the state. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the state.

"For the transportation of the troops, provisions, etc., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for boats; and during the whole transaction you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret—its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to secure the two men from Kaskaskia. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

"It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and the neighborhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this state (for it is certain they live within its limits), by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow citizens, and their person and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever shall be afforded them, and the commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart.

"The corps you are to command are to receive the pay and allowance of militia and to act under the laws and regulations of this state now in force, as militia. The inhabitants of this post will be informed by you, that in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of France and Spain.

"It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskaskia will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances will make necessary.

"You are to apply to General Hand for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that brought from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire, by my orders, and that may be delivered to you.

"Wishing you success,

"I am, sir,
"Your humble servant,
"P. Henry."

Clark sent out several officers with authority to enlist soldiers for the service of Virginia. Two of these officers were to bring

their recruits to Fort Pitt, while others were to meet him on the Ohio in Kentucky. Clark himself went to Fort Pitt, where he assembled men, boats, provisions, ammunition, and arms. However, he met with opposition by people at Fort Pitt, who, not knowing his plans, advanced the theory that it would be cheaper to move all the Kentuckians to the east side of the Alleghanies than to attempt to defend them. He found it advisable not to attempt to do more than to secure such supplies as his orders from Governor Henry authorized him to obtain. He took passage with quite a motley crowd aboard his boats for the lower Ohio. Word was sent to those who were recruiting that they should assemble with their contingents at Corn Island, opposite the present city of Louisville, Kentucky. The forces gathered slowly. Major Smith, who was asked to recruit four companies on the head waters of the Tennessee, sent only one company. When the troops were all assembled it was agreed that certain communities could not safely be left unprotected by the able-bodied men, and so quite a few were allowed to return to their homes. One company deserted, and when the final day arrived to proceed there were only 153 who were ready for the descent of the Ohio. To these Clark had revealed the ultimate purpose of the expedition. The following captains were in command: Bowman, Helm, Harrod, and Montgomery. A few families had accompanied Clark from Fort Pitt down to Corn Island. For their protection, Clark had erected a fort on the island. When Clark and his men took their departure, these people on Corn Island moved across to the Kentucky side of the Ohio and founded the City of Louisville.

Down the Ohio

The expedition left Corn Island on the 24th of June, 1778, while the sun was in a total eclipse. They had been out but a few days when they were overtaken by an agent sent by Colonel Campbell, in command at Fort Pitt. This courier brought good news from Colonel Campbell. It was to the effect that France and the United States had entered into a treaty of alliance, and that France would send men, money, and ships. This was welcome news, for it was believed that the French inhabitants could now be won over to the American cause much more easily than at any previous time. Clark was somewhat undecided which stronghold, Vincennes or Kaskaskia, to attack first. He says that Vincennes was larger, had more troops, and if he should be defeated he would have a hard time finding a place of refuge. He thought, too, that the Illinois settlements were more scattered, they could be conquered separately more easily, and he would be close to the Spanish territory, to which he could retreat at any time. He therefore decided to attack Kaskaskia first. He therefore sailed by the mouth of the Wabash and purposed to

land at Fort Massac and march overland to Kaskaskia. At the mouth of the Tennessee River, Clark halted to make some preparation for the final landing, and while there a hunter by the name of John Duff, with others, came by in boats and were obliged to come before Clark and give an account of themselves. They said they had lately been to Kaskaskia and knew the situation there very well. From them Clark found out that there were no British soldiers at either Kaskaskia or Vincennes. That Governor Abbot of Canada was lately at Vincennes, but that he had gone back to Canada. Also that a Frenchman, Chevalier de Rocheblave, was in command at Kaskaskia, and that the only defense there was the militia, which was well organized and alert. The hunters indicated their willingness to accompany Clark and act as guides. This was agreed to and they proved to be very dependable and useful men.

Clark moved on down the river some eight miles to Fort Massac. Here he landed and made final preparation for his journey to Kaskaskia. Some fifty yards above the fort a considerable branch or creek comes into the Ohio at right angles to the direction of the river. It has steep banks and the overhanging trees on either side make a leafy archway over the stream in summertime. Clark called this stream a "gully." In this "gully" they hid their boats and with light marching equipment began their journey of some 120 miles to Kaskaskia.

Before starting on this journey across Southern Illinois, let us get our bearings as to the source of our information. Reuben Gold Thwaites, a writer of several volumes on western histories, wrote in 1903 a single volume with the title, "How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest, and other Essays, etc." The last chapter of this book, Chapter VIII, he devotes to "The Draper Manuscripts." Dr. Lyman Copeland Draper, born in 1815—died in 1891, was the greatest collector of historical material that ever worked west of the Alleghanies. At the age of twenty-three he began to collect material for biographies of western pioneers. For many years he collected his material wholly by correspondence, but about 1840 he began to visit persons and places. He is supposed to have traveled more than 60,000 miles in his search for material for projected works which he never wrote. He was personally in touch with Bancroft, Hildreth, Drake, Parkman, Sparks, Lessing and other great historians. In 1849 the Wisconsin Historical Society was organized at Madison. In 1852 Dr. Draper was made secretary of this organization and from that simple beginning the society has come to be the most noted one in the middle west. He still continued to gather material looking forward to the writing of biographies and histories. At his death it was found that he had willed all this material to the Wisconsin Historical Society. It has since been classified, arranged, and bound into 400 folio volumes.

It is now in order to state that several of these folio volumes deal with the life work of George Rogers Clark. And among these, four volumes are made up of letters, notes, and reports from the men of his day upon the route which Colonel Clark took in his march from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia to Vincennes. This material is open to the investigation of students and writers and has been consulted by those who are interested in the content of this original material.

In 1903 Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert, a writer of note on Historical Highways made a very exhaustive study of these manuscripts in the Wisconsin State Historical Library pertaining to the two routes of George Rogers Clark, the route from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia and from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. The two routes described in this volume, are based upon the conclusions of Mr. Hulbert after a study of the Draper Manuscripts.

March Across Southern Illinois

Colonel George Rogers Clark left old Fort Massac on the Ohio River June 29, 1778, with an army of 175 men. They carried four days' rations. The general direction from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia is northwest. There were at that time two trails leaving Fort Massac either of which might have been taken by Clark. These trails were originally marked out by the buffaloes which went in great droves across Illinois in the general direction above given as the course pursued by Clark. One trail went north, to the east of the cypress swamps which lie to the north of Metropolis, and through Massac County, into Pope County. It probably passed by Sulphur Springs, now Dixon's Springs, on over the Ozarks through what is now called Moccasin Gap into the edge of Saline where it joined a trail from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia. This Shawneetown-Kaskaskia trail passed on west not far from Marion in Williamson County where it was joined by another trail from Fort Massac over the Ozarks through the Buffalo Gap. It was over this Buffalo Gap trail that Mr. Hulbert says the Draper manuscripts plainly indicate that Clark marched. With this in mind we shall trace his trip from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia.

On leaving the fort the morning of the 29th of June, 1778, Clark went northwest and kept between the cypress swamps north of the fort and those further west, which drain into the Cache River. In the extreme northwestern corner of Massac County the swamps which drain eastward into Big Bay Creek and those that drain westward into the Cache come close together. Between these swamps there is a strip of high ground a half mile wide over which an old trail ran. This trail crossed out of Massac in section two or three in town 14 south, range 3 east, and entered section 33 in town 13, range 3 east. Here the

trail went north over the west side of the high lands called Indian Point. The part over which the trail ran is 106 above the alluvial plains of the Ohio, while portions to the east of the trail a mile, are from 120 feet to 258 feet high. The trail over Indian Point was easily discernable a few years ago. On the north slope of this high hill the Daughters of the American Revolution have erected a granite monument to mark the route of George Rogers Clark through Johnson County. The Daughters were led by Mrs. Pleasant Chapman of Vienna, Johnson County.

Here on Indian Point some eighteen miles from Fort Massac the little army camped the first night out. On the morning of June 30 the army moved northwest, crossed the east branch of the Cache River, then a little east of northwest crossing the present wagon road from Vienna to West Vienna about a mile east of the latter village. Here the trail is discernible, and to the south of the wagon road the traveler may see here also a granite boulder monument erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution. From here the trail ran nearly due north a little east of the village of Buncombe, Johnson County, climbed the Ozarks through the Buffalo Gap, near the beautiful canyon of Fern Cliff and on to the present village of Goreville on the Chicago and Eastern Illinois. Just as the trail emerges on the upland the Daughters of the American Revolution have planted another monument to mark the patriots' path.

Three and a half miles north of Goreville the little army emerged into the present county of Williamson and at Pulley's Mill or just north a mile or so in Williamson, they camped the second night out from Fort Massac. Here the ground is open and a fine spring furnished plenty of excellent water. During the second day they had crossed the present county of Johnson —eighteen miles from north to south. The morning of July 1st they broke camp and marched north some eight miles when suddenly the guide became confused as to his location and the army halted. Clark told the guide if he did not find the Kaskaskia-Shawneetown trail he would kill him. They were then less than two miles from the above trail which in that region ran east and west, and were due south of Bainbridge, an old village which stood on the Kaskaskia-Shawnee trail three and a half miles due west of Marion, Williamson County. This trail was in those days called the "hunter's road." The army was now in the center of a very large prairie afterwards called Phelps Prairie. The guide soon found the "hunter's road" and the army was soon in motion. They struck the Kaskaskia-Shawneetown trail at old Bainbridge and turned slightly north of west and camped probably about where Carterville is located at a good spring.

The next morning, the 2nd of July, the army pushed west into Jackson County, entering, and crossing Crab Orchard Creek in

section 2, town 9, range 1 west. Thence due west crossing Big Muddy at Marshall's shoals section 6, town 9, range 1 west. Thence due northwest, south of Ava crossing into Randolph three miles west of Campbell Hill. The camp at the end of the fourth day was supposed to have been in Levan Township in Jackson County. This point is eighteen miles from the camp of the previous night. On reaching Shilo Hill in the southeastern part of Randolph they were then almost due east of Kaskaskia, a distance of seventeen miles. But from now on the march is over a very broken country and not at all in a straight course. The manuscripts seem to indicate that the army passed by Wine Hill in section 5, town 7 south, range 5 west, Randolph County. From there to St. Mary's River at Bremen Station in section 36, town 6 south, range 6 west. Here was the fifth camp. The morning of the fourth found them within twelve miles of Kaskaskia but they are without provisions and they were too close to kill game. They moved nearly west to Diamond Cross only five miles from Kaskaskia. Here they reached the Vincennes trail running from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. Even from Diamond Cross, Clark does not wish to march straight to Kaskaskia, and the route was taken which carried them round toward Ellis Grove, thence south and west to the Kaskaskia River a mile or so above the town. Clark says: "On the 4th of July, in the evening, we got within a few miles of the town, where we lay until near dark, keeping spies ahead, after which we commenced our march, and took possession of a house wherein a large family lived, on the bank of the Kaskaskia River, about three-quarters of a mile above the town. Here we were informed that the people a few days before were under arms, but had concluded that the cause of the alarm was without foundation; and at that time there was a great number of men in the town, but that the Indians had generally left it, and at present all was quiet."

Clark now secured boats and his little army was taken across on the west side of the river. There was a good wagon road which ran from the town of Kaskaskia north along the west side of the river for a distance of two or three miles. Clark marched his little army to the edge of the town. Here he divided it into two parts, with one he marched to the south side of the town where the commander, Phillippe Francois de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave, was quartered in the House of the Jesuits. This building had a stockade around it but it was much in need of repairs and it presented no obstacles to the Kentuckians. They easily entered stockade and house and soon had the Chevalier a prisoner of Virginia. The other part of the little army was directed to go into the streets of the town and keep the people within their homes.

The Capture of Kaskaskia

The next morning the people were disarmed. Clark says "nothing could exceed the confusion these people seemed to be in, being taught to expect nothing but savage treatment from the American." Clark's policy was to present the character of a tyrant. So he did not allow the French people to communicate with the soldiers. Father Gibault, the priest in charge of the church at Kaskakia and Vincennes, ventured, with a few of the more honorable citizens of the town, to call on Clark to ask if they might have a service in the church. Clark gave his permission. The bell rang out and the people gathered for their accustomed devotions. At the close of the service Father Gibault came again to Clark to request that in their separations that families might not be divided and that the prisoners might be privileged to take a portion of their personal belongings. They were evidently thinking of the departure of the Acadians. Colonel Clark then explained to the priest that Virginia was not making war on women and children, but that their mission in coming to Kaskaskia was to protect women and children—their own wives and children. Clark then explained that the French King had made a treaty of alliance with the American colonies against Great Britain, and that it would be entirely proper now for the French colonists in the Illinois Country to ally themselves with the Americans. The priest was told that this was what the French King desired them to do. Clark further told the priest and the men with him that in order to prove to them that he was speaking the truth, he told them that they were now free to go and inform the people that they should dismiss their fears, that they should conduct themselves as usual as no harm was intended them. The men in irons and those in prison were released and there was immediately great joy and loud demonstrations through the town. The church bell rang and the people were overjoyed. They met in the church and thanked God for their happy deliverance. Clark issued a proclamation which was read in the village and all acknowledged Colonel Clark as the commandant of the village.

An oath of allegiance to Virginia was prepared and all were required to subscribe there to. There was a notable exception to the general attitude of the French toward the Americans. The exception was the Chevalier de Rocheblave. He was nearly unmanageable and after Clark had given him time to reconsider his first position he was put in irons and sent to Williamsburg as a prisoner of war. His private property was seized including slaves which were sold for $2,500 which was divided among the soldiers greatly to their appreciation.

Capture of Cahokia

After the oath of allegiance had been administered, Colonel Clark decided that the next move was the capture of Cahokia. This town was sixty miles up the Mississippi and was an important post and the rendevouz of hundreds of Indians who might easily become hostile to the Americans. Major Bowman was authorized to organize a small army for the purpose of reducing Cahokia. When the French found out that an expedition was being organized to reduce Cahokia, they came to Clark and told him the people in Cahokia were their friends and relatives and that they could be of material help in the conquest of the post. Clark was glad to have them volunteer their services, and he issued an order that guns and ammunition should be returned to the French citizens. A company of French volunteers was accepted as a part of the force to capture Cahokia. Probably as many as sixty or seventy persons made up the expedition, a large part of whom was French militia. They rode French ponies and reached Cahokia on the 6th of July, 1778. It was an easy task for the French from Kaskaskia to explain to the Cahokia citizens the alliance between France and the Americans, and to assure them that the French King was desirous that the French in the Illinois should ally themselves with the Americans. The post surrendered and the oath of allegiance to Virginia administered. When the Cahokia citizens first saw the Kentuckians they shouted "Long Knives," the name given by the French to the Virginians. The Indians who were encamped about Cahokia were told that the Virginia Government would not permit them to congregate in large numbers and they quietly dispersed.

An interesting incident occurred in these early days of the conquest of Illinois. There was a very wealthy Frenchman living in Kaskaskia, a merchant. He was reported to be a bitter foe to the Americans and their cause. It was learned that Monsieur Cere was, at the time that Clark captured Kaskaskia, in St. Louis on his way to Quebec to attend to important business. Clark wished to convert Cere to the American side, and thinking that he could do it best by severe measure, he took possession of all of the Frenchman's property as well as his family. Guards were placed about his house and his stores, and his warehouse was put under lock and key. The rich merchant hearing that Kaskaskia was in the control of the Americans, and probably aware of the situation that really existed, hastened to Kaskaskia and sought an interview with Clark. Colonel Clark had been informed by the Kaskaskia citizens that Monsieur Cere had instigated many of the atrocities in Kentucky. M. Cere had brought with him from St. Louis a very fine indorsement from the governor there, as well as one from the commandant at St. Genevieve. Clark would not be influenced by the beautifully worded indorse-

ments. It appears that Cere's presence in Kaskaskia was not very generally known. In his interview with Clark he was told that he stood charged with very serious offenses, and that Colonel Clark had no desire to condemn him unheard and that he purposed investigating the case and to act accordingly. M. Cere denied all the charges and offered to produce witnesses who would testify that M. Cere had on repeated occasions voiced his condemnations of the brutalities in the Kentucky country. He demanded that his accusers should meet him face to face. This Clark proposed to have done. M. Cere was asked to occupy a side room from the office and all his accusers were brought before Clark. Many other citizens came to see what the proceedings should be. When the accusers were all assembled M. Cere was brought in and placed before them. One by one they began to deny knowing anything against the merchant, and eventually no one was willing to testify. Colonel Clark therefore exhonorated him of all charges and congratulated him upon the happy ending of an ugly situation. M. Cere became an American citizen by taking the oath of allegiance and pledged himself loyally to support Clark and the American cause.

Vincennes Surrendered

When Colonel Clark first planned his expedition into this country he had intended to attack Vincennes first and later to reduce Kaskaskia. But before he reached the mouth of the Wabash, he decided to change his plans, and he attacked Kaskaskia first as we have seen. But Clark says he had never given up the plan of reducing Post Vincennes. Clark was a man who could make the best use of all the resources at hand, he therefore called before him Father Gibault and talked about the size of the army needed to capture Vincennes. Just as Clark expected, the priest told Clark that Governor Abbott of Canada had very recently left Vincennes and that there were no British troops there, and that the local militia had charge of the fort and its supplies. He further informed Clark that he, the priest, would go to Vincennes and try to get the citizens to transfer their allegiance from the British government to the Virginia government. Clark therefore sent Father Gibault, accompanied by two or more men who Clark thought could be depended on, to see what could be done with the citizens at Vincennes. The priest presented the matter of the transfer of their allegiance in such a way as easily to persuade them to change their allegiance. They all gathered in the church and the oath was administered to all the citizens. They then selected some of their own number to act in official capacities. They then went to the fort, pulled down the British flag, and hoisted the flag of Virginia. The Indians were told that the old French King

had come back to life and that he was displeased that his former children should be working for the British. Father Gibault and his party returned about the first of August, accompanied by several men from Vincennes who wished to confer with Colonel Clark.

While Father Gibault was absent from Kaskaskia on the mission to Vincennes, Colonel Clark was solving troublesome questions which were constantly arising. Among other things he planned to reenlist as many of the Kentucky soldiers as he could. The agreement between Clark and his Kentucky soldiers was to the effect that their enlistment period should not extend beyond the reduction of Kaskaskia and Vincennes; and now that both were under the flag of Virginia, he feared many would claim that their time was out. He therefore called for reenlistments. About one hundred of his Kentucky men reenlisted. The others were to be mustered out at the Falls of the Ohio. He further opened the enlistments to the French citizens. Clark says the French young men took delight in entering the service of Virginia. These new recruits were drilled and became acquainted with the ideals of the American soldier. The French troops were given French commanders. Colonel Clark then stationed Captain Bowman at Cahokia and Captain Williams at Kaskaskia. Col. Wm. Linn returned to the Falls of the Ohio with the men who were to be mustered out. Captain Montgomery had charge of Chevalier Rocheblave whom he conducted to Williamsburg; he also carried dispatches for Governor Henry from Colonel Clark. Captain Helm was commissioned to have charge at Vincennes and especially to treat with the Indians on the Wabash.

The lack of space will prevent our taking up in detail all of Clark's conferences with the Indians about this region; suffice it to say that considerable time was given to the receiving of great chiefs, and in making speeches, and in the making of treaties. One great council was held at Cahokia where the chiefs of many tribes appeared. The peace pipe was smoked, speeches were made, and treaties favorable to the Americans were entered into.

Illinois Country, Virginia

Word reached Governor Patrick Henry of the signal victories of the handful of Virginia troops who had laid the foundation for the annexation of a vast empire to the government of Virginia. It was not only a piece of news which would ordinarily have pleased the friends back home, but it was the entering wedge to a successful demand for all territory east of the Mississippi when the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies should be wrung from Great Britain. Jefferson, Mason, Henry, Randolph and a host of other Virginians saw the unlooked for importance of Clark's conquests in the West. The Virginia

Assembly was in session in October, 1778, and the following is a law that was passed creating the Country of Illinois, in the State of Virginia:

"All the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled or who shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county which shall be called Illinois County; and the governor of this commonwealth, with the advice of the council, may appoint a county-lieutenant or commander-in-chief, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission as many deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissioners as he shall think proper in the different districts, during pleasure; all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this commonwealth and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion.

And all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed necessary for the preservation of the peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts to be convened for that purpose by the county-lieutenant or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county-lieutenant or commander-in-chief."

In November the House of Delegates took formal action in expressing its thanks to Clark and his brave men for their wonderful success in their campaign in the West. It appears of record as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Monday the 23d, Nov., 1778.

Whereas, authentic information has been received that Lieut.-Col. George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western parts of this commonwealth on the Mississippi and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this commonwealth in particular:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House are justly due to the said Colonel Clark and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perserverence in so hazarodus an enterprise, and for their important services to their country.

E. Randolph,
C. H. D.

Attest:

Clark was to have some thorns along with the roses. When Captain Helm was sent to Vincennes to take charge of the post there, he took with him an American by the name of Henry. They were joyfully received by the inhabitants. He assumed full control of all civil and military activity. This was in the middle or latter part of August. It appears that the French

militia were somewhat organized and furnished with guns and powder with the understanding that these soldiers should help in the defense of the village and the fort, if necessary.

Word came to Henry Hamilton, governor of Detroit, that Clark had invaded Illinois and that he was in possession of Post Vincennes and Fort Sackvile. Without delay he prepared to retake the fort and village. His force consisted of thirty regular troops, fifty Canadians, and 400 Indians, and with this body of warriors he started for the headwaters of the Wabash. He was obliged to refuse the offer of a large number of Indians along the Wabash to aid him in the recapture of Vincennes. An interesting story is told in Butler's History of Kentucky, published in 1834, as follows:

As General Hamilton was nearing the village, the villagers not heeding the call of the fort for help, Captain Helm and Private Henry decided upon a bold procedure. Private Henry loaded one of the cannon of the fort and it was placed at the gate of the stockade, while Captain Helm stood near with a torch in his hand. When General Hamilton came within hailing distance, Captain Helm called out to Hamilton, "Halt!" The British army was brought to a standstill. Hamilton there demanded the surrender of the fort, when Helm replied, "No man shall enter until I know the terms." Governor Hamilton replied that the force in the fort should march out with the honors of war. Captain Helm thought these terms were entirely satisfactory and so he and Hamilton prepared for the formal surrender, and at the proper time Captain Helm with the flag and Private Henry with the drum marched out between the long lines of Red Coats, Canadians and Indians.

Helm was held in Vincennes as a prisoner of war. Governor Hamilton found that he had too large a force to hold in idleness about Vincennes; it was therefore provided that only a portion of the force should remain at Fort Sackville while a larger part was sent down on the Ohio and the Mississippi for the purpose of guarding against the approach of reenforcements for Colonel Clark.

Governor Hamilton had in mind that he would make a sort of campaign up the Ohio, ravaging Kentucky and possibly reducing Fort Pitt, and returning in the spring, gather his scattered forces and attack Kaskaskia and capture Clark and his rag-a-muffin army. But Governor Hamilton was hindered, and his dream was never realized.

CHAPTER XIII

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN ILLINOIS

COLONEL VIGO—MARCH TO VINCENNES—THE ATTACK—TERMS OF SURRENDER—COMING OF JOHN TODD—TODD'S DEPARTURE —ILLINOIS ABANDONED.

When Colonel Clark first reached the Illinois Country he little dreamed that he would find friends in this region. Among several warm friends which Colonel Clark made in this country, none were more loyal or more really helpful than Colonel Francis Vigo, a Spanish merchant who lived in St. Louis. He early visited Colonel Clark at Kaskaskia and was soon greatly attached to the American cause. He promised Clark his influence, and proved the sincerity of his profession by making Clark a substantial loan. When Clark left the Illinois Country he was in debt to Vigo to the amount of twenty thousand dollars.

COLONEL VIGO

Helm took charge of Fort Sackville at Vincennes August 15, 1778. Clark got little or no word directly from Helm and he was concerned about his welfare. After the capture of Vincennes by Hamilton all communication with Kaskaskia ceased. Clark did not know that Hamilton had retaken Vincennes, but he thought it strange that he heard nothing from Helm. About the first part of January, 1779, Clark asked Colonel Vigo to make a trip to Vincennes and to report to him the situation. Vigo was glad to serve his friend, more particularly since he often went to Vincennes to trade in furs and pelts. When Vigo arrived at Vincennes he was arrested by Hamilton on the theory that he was a spy. But Vigo knew the people of the village, and they all knew him; besides the Indians all knew Vigo. These friends were ready to vouch for Vigo. In addition to his standing in the village and among the Indians as a merchant and trader, he was a subject of Spain and his arrest and confinement might precipitate diplomatic complications. After being restrained of his liberty for some time, Hamilton agreed to his release provided he would go straight to his home in St. Louis and that he would do nothing on the way to injure the British cause.

Colonel Vigo was an honest old soldier. He made a direct and rapid journey to St. Louis. He kept the contract he had made with Hamilton. But he remained only long enough to

comply with his agreement with Hamilton. He repaired immediately to Kaskaskia to confer with Colonel Clark. He arrived in Kaskaskia January 29, 1779. Clark was already very much disturbed by reason of the absence of information from Captain Helm. But the news which Colonel Vigo brought was a great shock to Colonel Clark. He ordered Captain Bowman to report at Kaskaskia to assist in organizing an overland expedition for the conquest of Hamilton at Vincennes, for, as Colonel Clark said, "If I do not take Hamilton, Hamilton will take me." A part of the plan of conquest was to send a galley down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio and the Wabash, to await below Vincennes the coming of the land expedition. A large Mississippi keel boat was purchased and fitted out as a galley. Two four-pound guns were mounted, and in addition four large swivels. Provisions and ammunition were placed on the boat which was christened "The Willing." Capt. John Rogers was the captain; he had forty-six men under his command, and they sailed on the fourth of February, 1779.

Orders were given for preparation for the overland march. Two French militia companies were organized, one from Cahokia and one from Kaskaskia. The company from Cahokia was commanded by Captain McCarty, and the one from Kaskaskia by Captain Charleville. There were three companies of Americans commanded by Captains Bowman, Williams, and Worthington. The company was usually made up of fifty men, but in these five companies there were but 170 men, an average of only thirty-four men to a company. Clark has given us a very good picture of the interest in the preparations in Kaskaskia and probably in the other villages. He says: "Orders were immediately issued for preparations. The whole country folk took fire with alarm; and every order was executed with cheerfulness by every description of the inhabitants—preparing provisions, encouraging volunteers, etc., etc., and as we had plenty of stores, every man completely rigged with what he could desire to withstand the coldest weather."

March to Vincennes

Everything was ready on the 5th of February and after being lectured, and receiving absolution from the priest they crossed the Kaskaskia River and marched about three miles and encamped. This camping place was not far from the village of Diamond Cross or Palestine. Here they remained in camp from the 5th to the 7th, when they resumed the march. The direction is in general northeast. A careful study of the geography will reveal that this direction was between two water systems; one of which on north and west is the Kaskaskia system, and the one to the east and south is the St. Mary's. This gave a high

dry route from Diamond Cross to Sparta, a distance of ten miles. From Sparta in a straight course northeast to Nashville, passed a mile south of Coulterville. From Nashville to Richview, thence to Walnut Hill in the southwest part of Jefferson County. From Walnut Hill in a very direct way to Xenia in Clay County. From Xenia very nearly east passing Flora and Clay City. Up to this point the little army had experienced hardships but no serious opposition. They killed game for food and usually had a sort of feast at night, all the companies gathering about one fire where they cooked, ate, and enjoyed themselves very freely, so Clark says. The rains were falling and every stream was full to the top of its banks. Captain Bowman's journal says, "11th crossed the Saline River. Nothing extraordinary this day." They arrived at the Little Wabash a mile east of Clay City and found the low land between it and the Big Muddy Creek three miles east, covered with water. In fact there was about five miles of space covered by water. Here they built a boat for the purpose of conveying them over the deeper parts of the water. The larger stream, the Little Wabash, was crossed by means of the newly made boat, and the baggage placed on a sort of platform in three feet of water. The pack horses swam the river which was a 100 feet wide. The men were brought across in the boat, the pack horses were reloaded, and all started through the three feet of water which covered the low ground between the Little Wabash and the Big Muddy Creek—a distance of three or more miles. The drowned lands to the east of the Big Muddy Creek extended the whole width to five miles. In the low ground between the two channels the water was from 3 to 5 feet deep. The men carried their guns and powder on top of their heads. Of course there was great suffering, but the men had steeled themselves to do and to dare unprobable and impossible things. The army reached the "Wabashes" the afternoon of the 13th, built their boat on the 14th, and crossed the Wabashes on the 15th of February. On the morning of the 16th they marched east and crossed Fox River. They reached the Embarras River about where the City of Lawrenceville is on the afternoon of the 17th. Finding the lands between the Embarras and the Wabash—that is, between Lawrenceville and Vincennes—flooded and not finding any boats, they moved south and east along the Embarras till they found a place to camp for the night. "18th—at daybreak heard Hamilton's morning gun. (They were then 10 miles southwest of Vincennes.) Set off and marched down the river (Embarras), saw some fine land. About 2 o'clock came to the banks of the Wabash."

Here they spent the next three days building rafts, digging canoes, and trying to cross the Wabash. Major Bowman's journal says on the 19th—"Many of the men cast down—par-

ticularly the volunteers (the French militia). No provision now of any sort, two days, hard fortune." On the 20th they captured five Frenchmen from Vincennes who told the Americans that Hamilton was ignorant of the presence of Clark then so near to Vincennes. They killed a deer on the 20th. On the 21st the army was ferried across the Wabash in canoes, and on the raft. They rested on a small rise in the ground called "mamelle" about two and a half miles from the river. They were now eight miles in a straight line south from the village and fort. From the first "mamelle" they marched east and a little north a distance of three miles to a second "mamelle." The next high ground was said by the guides to be a place called the sugar camp two miles north of the second "mamelle." Canoes were sent out on reconnoitering expeditions. They returned with nothing encouraging. The men had had some meat and soup since they crossed the river and were in fairly good spirits. At best, however, the situation was extremely perilous. Clark took some powder in his hand, poured on water and blackened his face, gave the warhoop, and plunged into the water and made toward the sugar camp. The men were very weak but with a huzza they followed, the water sometimes to their shoulders. They went through a wood just before reaching the sugar camp and the men hung to the limbs of trees and floated on the logs. As the men came to land they would fall to the ground as they came out of the water. They built fires and took a little exercise in the sunshine and all regained their strength.

They were now about five miles due south of the village. Some of Clark's men who were out in a canoe spied some squaws and children making their way over the flooded lands to Vincennes. They were forced to come to the sugar camp where the soldiers were resting and, lo! in the boat was a quarter of buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. This was a great capture. Broth was made and served to the weakest with caution, to the strong in quantities. Clark was a psychologist and he was constantly bringing about desirable ends by indirection. From the sugar camp they crossed a lake in canoes and waded the drowned lands to Warrior's Island (Warren's Island). They were now two miles south of the fort which was in plain view. Some Frenchmen were seen at a distance hunting ducks in the overflowed land. Some of Clark's French soldiers were sent out to these hunters and one of them was asked to come to Clark's camp, which he did. He said the British had just completed the repairs on the fort and that a number of Indians were lounging about the village. Clark began then to march on the fort. But as a part of the plan he wrote the following address to the inhabitants in the village and sent it in by a messenger.

"To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes:

Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses; and those, if any there be, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer general, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy.

(Signed) G. R. CLARK."

The messenger who carried this communication to the inhabitants of the village was watched by the soldiers as they could see him all the way to the village. In a short time the villagers began to gather in knots on the outskirts of the town, and there were signs of activity in the village. All this time the people in the fort were wholly unconscious of the nearness of Clark's troops, and knew nothing of any unusual situation in the village. It was now late in the afternoon of the 23d of February, 1779. Clark began to march toward the village. The little army was moved in such a way as to make it appear to people in the village and fort that there were two or three times as many soldiers as there really were. Clark had flags of different colors which he had prepared before he left Kaskaskia. These were used so that it appeared there were many more soldiers than there were.

On reaching the village the American army was marched through the outlying parts of the village in order to make an impression upon the citizens of the town. When Clark was ready he opened fire on the fort. This took Hamilton completely by surprise. The fire was vigorous and was returned as vigorously. The American army would have soon exhausted their powder had it not been for the action of the Vincennes inhabitants. Upon the approach of Hamilton when he came from Canada, the inhabitants of the town had word that Hamilton expected to confiscate all the powder and bullets in the village. To circumvent this misfortune, the villagers hid their supply of powder and bullets. When Clark came into the town, the people very generously let him have all their stock of ammunition. Clark's little army was therefore well supplied, and the firing went on without abatement.

The Attack

There were several hundred Indians in the town and a part of them were very anxious to join in the attack on the fort but Clark felt that he would better reduce the fort without their help. He told them he would confer with them on the morrow. The fort was completely surrounded and the bombardment was kept up till about nine o'clock the next morning. Fifty of Clark's army were held in reserve, but fully that many of the French villagers took their places in the ranks of the besieging army. The fort was supplied with cannon, but when the portholes were opened the American riflemen would so surely pick off the gunners that they gave up the use of the cannon. Several of Hamilton's men who ventured to show their heads over the walls of the fort were also picked off by the riflemen. During the night Colonel Clark sent a detachment of workers as close to the fort as they could get in order to dig trenches and throw up breastworks. This they did successfully, so that when the morning came the Americans were safe behind their own breastworks.

About 9 o'clock on the morning of the 24th, Colonel Clark decided to put on a bold front and demand the surrender of the fort. He did this because he was uncertain what would be the attitude of the Indians should the siege hold out too long. Colonel Clark had not heard anything from the vessel which was overdue, and he felt that the time was opportune, as their might be some unforeseen conditions arise which would render all of their advantage of no avail. He therefore directed a letter which he sent to the fort under a flag of truce. The communication sent to Colonel Hamilton was as follows:

"Sir: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc., etc. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town—for, by Heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

(Signed) G. R. Clark."

We must admit that this was a pretty vigorous demand on an officer to surrender. Colonel Hamilton immediately returned the following reply:

"Lieutenant Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark, that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects."

This was a dignified reply and a little haughty in tone. The firing was resumed and was kept up vigorously on both sides. Clark says his men frequently proposed to rush the fort and

put an end to the conflict. But Clark wished to save the lives of his soldiers. In the afternoon after the garrison had lost several of its men Colonel Hamilton made a proposition under flag of truce for a three days' truce in the following form:

"Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce of three days; during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation of any defensive work; that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be; and promises whatever may pass between these two, and another person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes, that whatver the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON.

24th February, '79."

This proposition for a three days' truce, all things considered, would probably have been to the advantage of Colonel Clark. He had hopes that Captain Helm with the Willing would be on the scene within three days, with provisions and men. In that case there would be no question as to Clark's ability to force the garrison to surrender. When Clark conferred with his officers there were different interpretations of the note from Colonel Hamilton. Some thought it a scheme to get Clark within the fort for the purpose of detaining him indefinitely. After the conference with his officers, Colonel Clark decided to send the following communication to Colonel Hamilton:

"Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church, with Captain Helm.

February 24th, '79. G. R. C."

Clark tells the story of the conference in a very interesting way. The two principals met at the church which was some eight yards from the fort. Hamilton was accompanied by Major John Hay who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs about Detroit, also by Captain Helm who was held as a prisoner in the fort. Colonel Clark was accompanied by Major Bowman. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton presented what he thought would be acceptable terms of surrender, but Clark, like Grant, would have nothing but unconditional surrender. After a fruitless conference, they parted to renew attack and defense. Hamilton had not gone far toward the fort till he turned and renewed

the discussion as to terms. In this second stage of the conference Clark told Hamilton that he expected to take the fort and that his men would have no mercy on any one. Hamilton and Hay were visibly affected by the savage threats of Clark, and were told to return to the fort and that Clark would reconsider his terms of surrender.

In the afternoon of the 24th Colonel Clark sent a set of articles to the fort for Governor Hamilton. These were agreed to and the struggle was over. The following are the terms as offered by Clark:

TERMS OF SURRENDER

1. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war; and march out with their arms and accoutrements, etc.

3. The garrison to be delivered up at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

4. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

Signed at Post St. Vincent, 24th February, 1779.

Agreed for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

HENRY HAMILTON,
Lt. Gov. and Superintendent.

On the 27th of February, the Willing, with supplies and men, arrived. With the Willing came dispatches from Virginia. The army of conquest was now busy carrying out the terms of the surrender. Governor Hamilton and Major Hay were sent to Williamsburg as prisoners of war. The soldiers were detained a while and paroled and allowed to return to Detroit.

Just as the surrender occurred word came to Clark that several canoes loaded with provisions and supplies destined for Fort Sackville were on their way down the Wabash from Detroit. A company of men under Captain Helm left Vincennes on the 26th to capture this flotilla. The vessels were found in the mouth of the Vermilion River. There were seven boats. The boats were easily captured at night. Captain Helm returned to Vincennes on the 5th of March with a large store of provisions to be used for the good of the soldiers. Besides these seven boats of provisions, clothing, etc., there were considerable supplies in the fort when it was surrendered.

Now that this task is done, the men are ready for another which would have been as trying, and if successful, as profitable both to the government and for the soldiers as individuals.

This was the capture of Detroit. Clark, too, is very anxious, but he hesitated. He probably was wise, for to garrison Detroit, Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia, besides the small villages here and there would have been a big undertaking. It appears that Clark wasted valuable time—but we must remember that he was absolutely under the command of the governor of Virginia. And again that Virginia had given not a bit of help materially since the expedition started from Corn Island. Eventually Clark selected Lieutenant Brashear to command the fort at Vincennes. He had as assistants Lieutenants Bayley and Champlin and forty soldiers. Capt. Leonard Helm was made commandant of the town, and superintendent of Indian affairs. Moses Henry was made Indian agent, and Patrick Kennedy was made Quartermaster. Clark and the remainder of the army took passage in boats for Kaskaskia. In due time they reached their destination. One day in June the little army was surprised by the arrival of Colonel Montgomery from Kentucky. This was the first batch of reinforcements for the Detroit expedition. In the middle of the summer of 1779 Clark assembled a force at Vincennes for the purpose of proceeding to the attack of Detroit but there were so many discouragements and disappointments that the expedition was abandoned, at least for the time being.

One might say, what is all this suffering, this anxiety, these sacrifices, and these weary journeys about? Have these British posts of Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit ever been responsible for enough suffering in Kentucky to justify all this outlay of labor and suffering on the part of Clark and his men? One picture will be given, and then when we remember that this is only one in many, we can answer whether the conditions justified the work of Clark and his Kentucky backwoodsmen.

At some period before Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton left Detroit for the capture of Vincennes in the fall of 1778 one John Leith, an American sympathizer, engaged in the fur trading business, was arrested and held at Detroit as a prisoner with more or less of liberty. In his diary was found the following incident which was copied by H. W. Beckwith who was the author of volume 1 of the Illinois Historical Collections.

"One day, while detained at the fort (in Detroit), I observed some soldiers drawing cannon out of the fort and placing them on the banks of the river. While I was ruminating in my mind, what could be the meaning of this singular maneuvre, a young silversmith, with whom I was intimately acquainted, came and asked me to walk with him and see them fire the cannon. I walked with him to the place where they had carried them. When we arrived there we found Governor Hamilton and several British officers who were standing and sitting around.

Immediately after our arrival at the place, the Indians pro-

duced a large quantity of scalps, the cannon fired, the Indians raised a shout, and the soldiers waved their hats, with huzzas and tremendous shrieks, which lasted some time.

This ceremony being ended, the Indians brought forward a parcel of American prisoners (supposed to be from the Kentucky settlements), as a trophy of their victories; among whom were eighteen women and children, poor creatures; dreadfully mangled and emaciated; with their clothes tattered and torn to pieces, in such a manner as not to hide their nakedness, their legs bare and streaming with blood; the effects of being torn with thorns, briers, and brush. To see these poor people dragged, like sheep to the slaughter along the British lines, caused my heart to shrink with throbbings and my hair to raise with rage; and if ever I committed murder in my heart, it was then; for if I had had the opportunity, and had been supported with strength, I certainly should have killed the governor, who seemed to take great delight in the exhibition. My business hurried me from this horrible scene, and I know not what became of those poor wretches who were the miserable victims of savage power." If this was the common occurrence during these troublous times, there was ample justification in Clark's calling Governor Hamilton the "hair buyer general."

Coming of John Todd

Let us recall that the territory north and west of the Ohio River was by act of the Legislature of Virginia, in the fall of 1778, organized into a county, and steps were taken "for the more effectual protection and defense thereof." This action was taken before Clark captured Governor Hamilton in Fort Sackville. "The act creating the County of Illinois recites the successful expedition of the Virginia militiamen in the country adjacent to the Mississippi, and that good faith and safety require that the citizens there of who have acknowledged the Commonwealth, shall be supported and protected and that all the citizens of Virginia, settled on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county to be known as the Illinois County."

The act provided that the Governor of Virginia should appoint a county-lieutenant or commandant, and that this official should appoint and commission all deputy commandants, militia officers, and other needed official assistants. The few civil officials were to be elected by the voters in their respective districts.

The governor, Patrick Henry, looked about for a suitable person for so important a position as lieutenant-commandant of Virginia's newly acquired domain. He was probably not long in making his decision. According to Mr. Edward C. Mason,

who is considered a very careful writer, all during the time that this act was before the Virginia Legislature, the man who was to be so highly honored with the appointment as county lieutenant of Illinois County, Virginia, was bravely helping to win from British power by force of arms, the very domain which he was later selected to govern. This man who was to institute and establish the fundamental principles of English law and government in a territory wrested from the tyranny of George III, was John Todd, Esq., lately a judge of the Kentucky court at Harrodsburg.

John Todd was born in Pennsylvania, educated in Virginia, practiced law in the latter state and moved to Kentucky in the exodus which passed over the Alleghanies in 1775. He was a member of the first House of Delegates of Kentucky, and later was a representative in the Virginia Legislature. When Clark was gathering up his troops for the campaign against the British posts in the march west, John Todd was found among the soldiers. There was at least one notable exception to the careless statement that Clark's soldiers were the backwoodsmen of Kentucky. Mason says that when Clark had surrounded the house in which Rocheblave was sleeping that John Todd was the first man to enter the house, and further that Todd was with Clark at the capture of Hamilton in Vincennes. If this is true we can understand the strong ties of friendship which bound the two men together.

Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, in the quaint old town of Williamsburn, sat in the chair of state, where the royal governors had ruled the Old Dominion, and wrote in a common account book with his own hand the appointment, the instructions, and the limitations of a governor of an imperial domain—the territory out of which five of the nation's great states have been formed—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. This historic document now rests securely in a fire-proof vault where at least "where thieves can not break through and steal." These instructions to County-Lieutenant John Todd occupy five pages and may be stated in brief:

Todd is referred to the law or act creating the office of County-Lieutenant, and continues—"The grand objects which are disclosed to the view of your countrymen will prove beneficial, or otherwise, according to the value and abilities of those who are called to direct the affairs of that remote country. The present crisis rendered favorable by the good disposition of the French and Indians, may be improved to great purposes, but if, unhappily, it should be lost, a return of the same attachments to us may never happen. Considering, therefore, that early prejudices are so hard to wear out, you will take care to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians."

Todd is directed to consult and advise with the most intelligent and upright persons who may fall in his way.

He is directed to co-operate with the military authorities in the defense of the country against hostile British and Indians.

The county-lieutenant is to have charge of militia, which can be placed under the control of the military only at the command of the civil authority. He is to inculcate in the people on all occasions the value of liberty and the difference between the state of free citizens of this commonwealth and that of slavery.

He is to remove the grievances that obstruct the happiness and prosperity of that country.

He is to discountenance and punish every attempt to violate the property of the Indians, particularly their lands.

He must cultivate the most friendly relations with the Spanish commandant at St. Louis.

The businesses given into your "charge are singular in their nature, and weighty in their consequences, to the people immediately concerned, and to the whole state. They require the fullest exertion of ability and unwearied diligence."

Todd is ordered to do what he can to restore to the wife of Rocheblave the property of which she had been deprived at the surrender of Kaskaskia.

To summarize: "Conciliation of the newly-enfranchised inhabitants, selection of competent advisers, defense against foreign and native enemies, subordination of the military to the civil arm of the government, establishment of republican institutions, administration of equal justice to all, an alliance with friendly neighbors, encouragement of trade, the unwearied ability, diligence, and zeal, in behalf of his people"—these are the high ideals held up for the guidance of this new guardian of civil and religious liberty in a country where the people have been used to bloodshed, scalps, intrigue, and tyranny.

These instructions were written probably while Clark and Todd were passing through the severest tests as to the final outcome after the first flush of victory on July 4, 1778. A trusted courier we believe brought these instructions by way of Pittsburg and down the Ohio and delivered them to Todd while he yet was at Vincennes, in the spring of 1779. At least Todd appeared in Kaskaskia in May, 1779. On the 12th of that month a great concourse of French, soldiers and Indians, gathered at the door of the church where Clark gave a sort of eulogy upon the faithfulness of the people of Kaskaskia and neighboring villages; and bespeaking their intelligent participation in civil affairs in a republican government now about to be established in Illinois County, Virginia, Clark now introduced County Lieutenant John Todd, Esq. Mr. Todd made a short speech, giving a brief outline of the government which he was to establish, and pointing out to the people their duties and privileges there-

under. Following these formalities the citizens voted for judges in true republican style. Nine judges were elected for Kaskaskia. These judges were selected from among the more intelligent French citizens of the village.

The second step for Mr. Todd was to organize the militia in the several villages of his territory. We have spoken of the book in which Governor Patrick Henry wrote out John Todd's commission and instructions. These took up five pages of the book and the following pages were used by Todd in which to keep a record of the orders and appointments of his office so the book has come to be known as "Todd's record book." On page 6 of the book are the entries which record the appointment of the militia officers for Kaskaskia: This list is taken from Mason's "Chapters from Illinois History."

"Made out the military commissions for the District of Kaskaskia, dated May 14, 1779:

Richard Winston, Commandant, as Captain.
Nickolas Janis, First Co., Captain.
Baptiste Charleville, 1st Lieutenant.
Charles Charleville, 2d Lieutenant.
Michael Godis, Ensign.
Joseph Duplassy, 2d Captain.
Nicholas le Chanie, 1st Lieutenant.
Charles Danee, 2d Lieutenant.
Baptiste Janis, Ensign.

12th May, sent a Commission of Command of Prairie du Rocher, and Captain of the militia to Jean B. Barbeau."

And then follows a list of militia officials for Cahokia.

"Commissions dated 14th May, 1779, 3d year of the Commonwealth."

On pages 7 and 8 of the record book Mr. Todd entered the "List of the Court as Kaskaskia, the Court of Kahokias, and the Court of Vincennes, as elected by the people."

In many cases these officials held two offices at once. Richard Winston was not only deputy-commandant at Kaskaskia, but also sheriff of that district. Jean B. Barbeau was deputy-commandant at Prairie du Rocher and judge of the court at the same time.

Having now attended to the courts and the militia, Mr. Todd turned his attention to the commercial interests of the new country. On Page 11 of the record book is an account of the issue of a trader's license to Richard McCarthy, Gentleman. This permit was very generous for it gave the grantee the right to trade anywhere in the Commonwealth. It bears date of June 5, 1779.

Todd next gives attention to the financial situation. On the 11th of June, 1779, he addressed a communication to the Court of Kaskaskia which is found on page 12 of the record book,

which shows that he had great faith in his government. He says that the only way to carry on the war (the Revolutionary war) is to support the bills of credit which the government has emitted. He says: "There is no friend to American Independence, who has any judgment, but expects to see it (the paper money) equal to gold and silver, but that merely from its uncommon quantity, and in proportion to it arises the complaint of its want of credit." There can hardly be any explanation as to this enthusiasm, as within one year from the date of this address to the Kaskaskia Court, the Continental (paper) dollar was worth but two cents in gold and was never more valuable. Then follows a sort of land-bank system which provided that paper money issued in the County of Illinois should rest for its ultimate redemption on the value of land, 21,000 acres near Cahokia being proposed to be set aside for such redemption.

From this land-bank discussion, Mr. Todd passes to the consideration of the land grants which have been made in this region as well as to consider the conditions which might arise when other grants should be made. On June 15th, 1779, Colonel Todd issued a proclamation in which he forbade the further settling of the flat lands adjacent to the rivers Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash until further notice. And in order to establish the titles to lands claimed from grants previously made by the governments in control of this region, it was ordered that each inhabitant who claimed lands should present for record the source of his present title. If his claim was derived direct from those in authority, he should present date, amount, and source of grant. If an individual received his title from another person, and he from another, and so on, then there must be established record of all these transfers. "The number of adventurers who will shortly overrun this country, renders the above method necessary, as well as to guard against trespassers which will probably be committed on lands not of record. Given under my hand and seal, at Kaskaskia, the 15th of June, in the third year of the Commonwealth, 1779.

"JOHN TODD, JR."

Colonel Todd intimates in his proclamation that he is looking for the coming of large numbers of settlers from the older states and he wishes to have the question of land claims well in hand before the arrival of these adventurers. It turned out that Colonel Todd accurately forecasted the actual conditions in the years 1779, 1780. Butler's History of Kentucky says that as many as three hundred large families came down the Ohio and landed at the Falls, the present site of Louisville in the spring of 1780, and from there spread out through the present State of Kentucky.

Governor Reynolds in his Pioneer History of Illinois reports the coming to Illinois of James Moore, Shadrach Bond, Robert

Kidd, Larken Rutherford, and James Garrison, in the year 1781. They brought their wives and children with them and they came unarmed. They came over the Alleghanies and down the Ohio thence up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia. From here, Moore and Rutherford followed the trail from Kaskaskia along the foot of the bluffs, to Prairie du Rocher. Just north of this village the trail went up a canyon and reached the uplands. Thence north through a hilly region and then came out into an open country about five miles southeast of New Design. The trail wound northward to Bellefontaine, a village laid out by James Moore. There was a very fine spring here and it became a center for settlers. This was in 1781. A fort was built at Bellefontaine, and two years later, 1783, a fort was built just north of Bellefontaine but below the bluffs in what was called the Grand Ruisseau. The Village of Bellefontaine eventually declined and Waterloo, Monroe County, grew up in its stead.

Shadrach Bond, Robert Kidd, and James Garrison settled on the alluvial lands in what is now Monroe County just below the mouth of Fountain Creek. Because these Americans settled in the bottom lands, this alluvial land was named the American Bottom. The American Bottom extends from Alton to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River, a distance of about ninety miles, and is five or six miles wide.

Todd's Departure

Just when Todd left Illinois is not known. On August 18, 1779, he wrote to the governor of Virginia as follows: "I expected to have been prepared to present to your excellency some amendments upon the form of government of Illinois, but the present will be attended with no great inconvenience till the spring session, when I beg your permission to attend and get a discharge from an office with an unwholesome air, a distance from my connections, a language not familiar to me, and an impossibility of procuring many of the conveniences of life suitable; all tend to render uncomfortable." This letter did not reach the governor of Virginia. On December 23, 1779, Todd was at the Falls of the Ohio and wrote to Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, stating his desire and intention of resigning.

It is certain that there was great dissatisfaction in the Illinois Country on the part of the inhabitants toward the American soldiers who were stationed at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and perhaps at Cahokia. Nor were the people backward about expressing their dissatisfaction with the rule of Mr. Todd. Boggess in his "The Settlement of Illinois," says: "Colonel Todd's position was difficult because of the discontent prevailing among both the French and the Americans in Illinois. His salary was so small that he feared that he must sell his property in Kentucky to support himself while in public service. He regarded

Kentucky as a much better place than Illinois for the ambitious man, the retired farmer, or the young merchant."

Without doubt Todd left Illinois not later than 1780. Things were in a bad way. The finances were in a wretched condition, food was scarce, and of course high priced. The Spanish interferred with the Illinois people as the latter were attempting to market their produce in New Orleans. The commanders of the Virginia troops in the French villages were obliged to take by force food for the soldiers. The enforcement of any sort of law was at the lowest ebb.

The "record book' shows that Todd left Kaskaskia about June, 1779, probably temporarily for he writes an order in the "record book" turning the command of the country over to the deputy-commandant, Richard Winston, and directed him to confer with the court and if Colonel Clark needed any thing and the people were not willing to furnish it, that he should, with the consent of the court, force the people to furnish supplies and that he should have two men value the supplies under oath. This order is dated June 15, 1779. It has been thought that this absence from Kaskaskia was only temporary as the "record book" shows that he issued an order on June 27th, that the citizens holding continental issues of certain dates must deposit their money with some designated official or the issue would not be redeemed.

Just prior to this as the record shows he ordered the Kaskaskia Court to hold a session in Kaskaskia on Saturday, July the 21st, 1779. This order is directed "To Gabriel Cerre, etc., Esq. Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia."

On August 9, he wrote a very cordial letter to the Spanish commandant at St. Genevieve and also one to the commandant at St. Louis offering help in case they were attacked by the British. In these letters he calls attention to the fact that Colonel Clark is still at Vincennes.

On the 13th of August, 1779, he condemned a vacant lot and proclaimed it the property of the commonwealth. A partial record of a grant of land to Colonel Montgomery is the last entry in the book. There is no date. Todd took an interest in Kentucky and was a delegate to the Virginia Legislature in 1780. He married while in Williamsburg, Virginia, and returned in the early part of 1781 with his wife to Lexington, Kentucky. Todd is given credit for securing state aid from Virginia for the founding of Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, the first college west of the Alleghanies. Thomas Jefferson, governor of Virginia appointed Todd Colonel of a Kentucky regiment in December, 1781. In August, 1782, he assisted in the defense of Lexington against an attack of Indians. They were driven off and pursued to Blue Lick Springs where a severe engagement took place in which Todd was killed.

There are some entries in the record book which are not in

Todd's handwriting. On page 28 is an oath of allegiance administered to one James Moore, at Kaskaskia, on July 10, 1782. In this oath James Moore renounces all fidelity to King George the Third, his kin and successors, and agrees to make known to some justice of the peace all treasonable or traitorous conspiracies against the United States which may come to his knowledge. This is the same James Moore that founded Bellefontaine. He was intimately associated with Gabriel Cerre in the fur-trading business in Tennessee with headquarters at French Licks afterwards the City of Nashville, Tennessee.

Before leaving the story of John Todd we probably ought to call attention to the customs of the times in legal matters. In the commission issued to John Todd and the instructions which followed, the county-lieutenant was given power to pardon all offenses, except murder or treason. On June 13, 1779, he issued an order to Richard Winston to carry out a very savage and cruel provision of the law of that time. It reads as follows:

"Illinois, to wit: To Richard Winston, Esq., Sheriff in chief of the District of Kaskaskia.

"Negro Manuel, a Slave, in your custody, is condemned by the Court of Kaskaskia, after having made honorable Fine (Fine—restitution?) at the door of the Church, to be chained to a post at the Water Side, and there be burnt alive and his ashes scattered, as appears to me of Record. This sentence you are hereby required to put in execution on Tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning, and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia the 13th day of June in the third year of the Commonwealth."

Now the crime for which Negro Manuel was burned to death, chained to a stake, was probably neither murder nor treason. It would appear therefore that the county-lieutenant could easily have pardoned the negro for his crime. The crime according to the best interpretation was voudouism or as we know it, witchcraft. Witchcraft was practiced by whites, voudouism by American Negroes and Creoles. Usually the punishment was burning at the stake. This puts the burning of Manuel at Kaskaskia, the Quakers at Salem, Massachusetts, and Joan of Arc at Rouen all in the same class.

The Virginia troops were scattered over the Illinois Country and were creatures of bitter hatred on the part of the French inhabitants. There were not enough in any one place to act defensively and their support was a serious problem. It was therefore deemed advisable to concentrate them at some point which they would be of service in case of need. It was first thought best to build a fort some where about Mound City in Pulaski County, Illinois, but it was observed that Continental money was valueless in Illinois but current in Kentucky, the decision of Virginia was for the south side of the Ohio. The fort

was built on the east side of the Mississippi some seven miles below the mouth of the Ohio, just near but below the Town of Wycliff, Kentucky. In those days it was thought advisable and really necessary to foster a large community of civil life about a fort. It was in those days of poor transportation facilities, the best way to provide food for the garrison. Accordingly grants of land in liberal quantities were made to settlers, and when Fort Jefferson was located it was planned to induce scores of families to settle in the vicinity of the fort.

Illinois Abandoned

In the summer of 1780, the troops from all the posts in the Illinois Country were withdrawn and concentrated at Fort Jefferson. Sad stories are told of the deplorable condition of these Virginia troops in the summer of 1780. When the order reached Cahokia for all troops to report at Fort Jefferson the captain of the company, McCarty, found few of his men able to make the trip. Corn without grease or salt was the only food. Deaths were frequent. The garrison embarked in five boats, all of which were more or less unseaworthy. On the way down the river several of the number were left at villages because they could not proceed. This order to concentrate the Illinois troops at Fort Jefferson stripped Illinois of Virginia troops except a few who were left at Kaskaskia, since it was the capital of the Northwest. The garrison at Fort Jefferson remained till the summer of 1781, June 8, when it was ordered to the Falls of the Ohio, where it seemed they were little better off than they were in the Illinois Country.

When the County of Illinois was created in 1778, the General Assembly of Virginia passed "An Act for establishing the County of Illinois and for the more effectual protection and defense thereof." It appears that this act was not a permanent act but one with time limitations. The act would expire at the end of the session of the Legislature in May, 1780. A renewal act was therefore passed "for one year after the passing of this act, and from thence to the end of the next session of Assembly." An effort was made in the fall of 1781 to renew the act for another period of one year, but after a discussion in committee of the whole, the measure was put upon its passage and failed. The County of Illinois, Virginia, ceased to exist by expiration of the period designated in its creation, January 5th, 1782.

Thus we take our leave of the County of Illinois, Virginia; of Col. John Todd, county lieutenant; of Col. George Rogers Clark, the man who saved to the American cause a vast domain north and west of the Ohio River, and likewise of law, order, and progress in the Illinois Country.

CHAPTER XIV

A PERIOD OF ANARCHY

DECLINE — SOLDIERS — SPANIARDS IN ILLINOIS — DIPLOMACY —MUSTERED OUT—KASKASKIA COURT

For a period of ten years 1780-1790 the territory now within the limits of Illinois was without any government. This period was practically begun when George Rogers Clark left Illinois and began the construction of Fort Jefferson. Its beginning is also marked by the departure of John Todd for the more agreeable political, social, and economic conditions of Kentucky. With the going of these two men went also all restraints of the passions and practices of an ignorant, undisciplined, and indolent people. Even with both of these vigorous men giving all their time to the direction of the ongoing of the political and industrial life there was little progress. The truth is that the five or six French villages from Kaskaskia to Cahokia were never in so flourishing a condition as they were at the close of the French and Indian war. Pittman, already quoted in this volume, says there were more than two thousand white persons in Illinois when he visited the country in 1766, three years after it was known that the land had been ceded to the English. From the day it was known the English were to control the land to the coming of Todd as civil administrator, there was a gradual decline in all forms of industry, in standards of civil and social life, in population and in religious interests. Marriage contracts were consummated by the inhabitants without the aid of the priests. Church attendance had declined, and the general tone of society was at a low ebb.

DECLINE

In the early days of British control in the West there probably were more negroes than whites in Illinois. There were probably as many Indians as both blacks and whites. It was the opinion of Pittman in 1766 that the Indian had sunk to a very low level as compared to the lofty assumptions of the earlier days. The influence of the French upon the Indians was weakening and degrading. The two races had intermarried so that many families were "neither fish nor fowl." The life the people lived was an easy life. There was little culture except among a few families. Less than a year ago the author spent a day in "Old Kaskaskia," that is in the vicinity. In one home he found a descend-

ant of the Pierre Menard family. The man was coarse but kind. He opened his home to the inspection of the furniture which the Menard heirs have saved from the old Pierre Menard mansion and he is sure that the collector of old furniture would consider it a valuable collection. This furniture was brought from France and if the Menard mansion were provided with this grade of furniture throughout, LaFayette certainly thought himself in the Paris of the West when he was entertained in this home.

The lieutenant commandant was authorized by the "Act creating the County of Illinois" to "appoint and commission as many deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissaries as he shall think proper." The act provided that these appointments should hold during pleasure. In the absence of Todd from the capital, the deputy assumed charge and exercised authority. When Todd left Illinois in late 1779 or early 1780, Richard Winston took charge and exercised authority. From the time Winston left till the coming of St. Clair as governor of the Northwest Territory, Demunbrunt was "commandant of the village of Kaskaskia and its dependencies," according to his own signature. Richard Winston was made "commander of Kaskia" on June 15, 1779, while John Todd was absent from the City of Kaskaskia.

It is probable that Demunbrunt served as deputy-lieutenant at such times as Winston was otherwise engaged.

Soldiers

There was a very great amount of dissatisfaction with the rule of the English. As long as there were soldiers stationed in the French villages, they were in conflict with the inhabitants. Usually the soldiers were billeted on the people and this was a cause of discontent. The officers in charge of the troops were obliged to commandeer food, horses and other things of value. The soldiers too were the cause of complaint for they were poorly fed and badly clothed. The officers who bought food and clothing of the inhabitants usually paid for it with orders drawn on superior officers or on the treasury of Virginia. These bills would be accepted in payment but when they were sent to the people on whom they were drawn, payment would be refused and the drafts be returned to the maker.

Gabriel Cerre had been very willing to sell goods to Clark's soldiers and when the drafts given in payment were protested they came back to Mr. Cerre and he complained bitterly to Colonel Clark about the inconvenience and loss it meant to him. Another cause of severe complaint arose from the fact that the village of Kaskaskia was forced to provide food for the soldiers but in addition the village must also feed the American settlers who had lately arrived together with slaves. "When the change

of government had failed to satisfy the French and the presence of the soldiers had led to disorder and tyranny, there began a steady stream of emigration to the Spanish bank which ended in almost depopulating some of the villages in the American Bottom."

While Colonel Clark was working on Fort Jefferson, just below the mouth of the Ohio on the Kentucky side, he gave orders for the final movement of all the troops in the Illinois villages to concentrate at the New fort. Before Colonel Montgomery could carry out the order, word came that the British were moving from both north and south to crush the Spanish villages along the Mississippi to prevent them from aiding the Americans, and incidentally to deal the Americans such a blow that they would give no further trouble in the west. Colonel DeGalva in command of the Spanish forces at New Orleans successfully prevented the British forces in their march under Gen. Campbell from Pensacola north. The British forces about the lakes were organized to march from Mackinac south and attack St. Louis and the Spanish and American settlements along the Mississippi River. Word was sent Colonel Clark at the Falls of the Ohio who hastily pushed on to the Illinois country. He reached Cahokia only a day or so before the British from the north arrived. Colonel Montgomery had gathered the Illinois soldiers and the British were repulsed. They were also beaten off at St. Louis by the Spanish forces at that place. The motley band of Red Coats, Indians, and Canadians retreated north followed by Colonel Montgomery in hot pursuit. Illinois was thus saved from the control of the British.

Another interesting chapter in this period of Anarchy was an expedition led by De la Balme, a Frenchman who had recently come to this country to offer his sword for the independence of the United States. His services were accepted by congress, and after a short time spent in the east, he appeared in the Illinois country apparently with the consent of both Washington and La Fayette. He was shunned by the Virginia troops and the Spanish as well. He issued an address which was calculated to attach the Indians to his plans. A company was formed of from twenty to fifty French citizens mostly from Cahokia.

The expedition was enlarged at Vincennes and marched north and successfully attacked a fort on the Maumee River. De la Balme was afterward killed in a defensive action. The presence of a Frenchman in the Illinois country greatly stirred the French villages against the Virginia troops as well as against the American people generally. In his address which he delivered before his departure for Detroit De la Balme says: "It is well that you know that the troops of the State of Virginia have come here against the wish of the other states of America,—and the different deputies who compose the congress are ignorant of the

revolting proceedings and acts of violence, which the troops are practicing towards you." Nothing was more potent in spreading anarchy in the Illinois country than such a speech.

Spaniards in Illinois

The march of a Spanish army across Illinois from East St. Louis to the south end of Lake Michigan in 1780, appears on the face of it interesting, but not specially important. But the more fully we read of the many international complications in the days of the American Revolutionary war the more we see how fortunate the American states were to have at the council table during the peace negotiations such powerful characters as Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams. But the diplomacy of these men will be better understood after we have retold a very interesting story of "The March of the Spaniards Across Illinois."

We have seen that early in 1780 the British from about Mackinac sent a force against the Spanish town of St. Louis as well as against the American town of Cahokia. This expedition was defeated in battle at both St. Louis and Cahokia. Apparently as a matter of revenge, the Spanish authorities of St. Louis fitted out an expedition for the capture of Fort St. Joseph located on the lower course of the St. Joseph River in Southwestern Michigan. This fort seemed to be the center of British and Indian interests west of Detroit in 1763. This post had suffered siege, capture, and massacre at the hands of Pontiac. At that time there were only Ensign S_____ and fourteen British soldiers in the garrison. Eleven of the men were massacred, the ensign and three men were taken as prisoners and marched toward Detroit. A French trader at the fort at the time of Pontiac's attack gave a full account of the fall of the fort. This Frenchman's name was M. Louison Chevalie. With the Spanish expedition which marched across Illinois to Fort St. Joseph in the winter of 1780-81 was one Don Louis Chevalier, interpreter, who is supposed to be the same man who was the French trader at Fort St. Joseph in 1763.

The Spanish expedition about which we are writing was made up of sixty-five white soldiers about half of which were French inhabitants from Cahokia, a band of sixty-five Indians besides guides, etc. They chose not the most direct route from St. Louis to Fort St. Joseph; that would have been across the Grand Prairie, which in January, 1781, would have been found without food, shelter or water. But they chose to stay close to the rivers and the sheltered uplands to their destination. The commander of this expedition of the Spaniards was Don Eugenio Pourre. Second in command was Don Carlos Tayon.

They left the village of St. Louis on January 2, 1781, for an

objective four hundred miles away. Each one carried his own provisions besides his weapons. The march must be made through dangerous and hostile tribes of Indians who were to be won to the side of the Spaniards by generous gifts and Spanish diplomacy. There were two routes one of which the expedition must have taken. One up the Mississippi and the Illinois thence up the Kankakee and down the St. Joseph River. The other east over the Vincennes trail, thence up the Wabash and the Tippecanoe River and thence to South Bend and to the St. Joseph River and on to the fort.

The few soldiers and English traders who were in the fort were easily and quickly silenced. They probably knew they had been left in the lurch by the Indians upon whom they had relied for information and protection. The British flag was hauled down and the banner of Spain flung to the breeze. Mr. Mason in his Chapters from Illinois History called attention to the fact that this post had been handed about by sovereigns until the people in that vicinity had become used to the capture and the surrender of the fort as the very natural thing to expect. La Salle's banner may have first floated there as he was on his way down the Mississippi; it then fell to the governor of Canada, who was La Salle's bitter foe; the English next came and claimed it; next the banner of Pontiac the conspirator; then the English again, and now over the ramparts floated the banner of Spain. The story is told that in 1804 the commissioners of the United States seeking a favorable place to build a fort at the south end of Lake Michigan selected the site of the old St. Joseph fort as a suitable place for a more permanent structure. But the Indians were opposed to the plan of having a fort there because the land had not yet been ceded to the government. The commissioners proceeded to the west side and there erected old Fort Dearborn. About the site grew up a flourishing village which in due course of time came to be a town, then a city, and now the greatest inland metropolis of the world.

Captain Don Eugenio Pourre easily transferred this fort to the Spanish King and announced that all the Illinois country had become the possession of the crown of Spain. The British flag, which the Spanish displaced with the Spanish banner, was brought back to St. Louis and delivered to the commandant as evidence that the expedition had been successful.

There comes now a serious question. What was the real purpose of this expedition? If this expedition had been one of revenge for the attack upon St. Louis and Cahokia the previous year, 1780, it should have been directed against Mackinac and not against St. Joseph. If it was for the sake of loot it can be said that the disposition of the valuable material found in the fort would disprove any such assumption, for the supplies of

all sorts were given to the Indians or burned on the spot. No things of value were brought away by the soldiers.

Now the only logical explanation of the expedition is that it was undertaken at the command of the Spanish Court. This may be better understood when we remember that France entered into a treaty of alliance with the United States on the 6th of February, 1778. At that time Spain was an ally of France but while she was sympathetic with the United States she neither acknowledged the independence of the United States nor became involved in war with Great Britain, for the new premier of Spain believed it wholly unpolitic for Spain to be assisting rebellious colonies in America. However, Spain was ready to do what she could to distress her colonizing rival, England. Helping at least directly to plant an independent nation—a republic—in the New World would be a bad example for her own colonies. However, in June, 1779, Spain joined France in war on the British government. Steps were immediately taken to regain the territory she lost in the French and Indian war, East and West Florida. Thousands of troops were sent to the West Indies and plans laid for the disposing of England about the Gulf of Mexico. Mobile and Pensacola were captured and held, in March and May. And in the same summer the Spanish forces with the help of Col. George Rogers Clark were able to drive off an attacking party of British at St. Louis and Cahokia, as has been told in the early part of this chapter. The expedition to St. Joseph was undertaken in January, 1781; it was successful and the Spanish officer in charge proclaimed all the Illinois country the territory of his king.

Diplomacy

The negotiations looking toward peace between the United States and Great Britain began in the winter and spring of 1781-82. English diplomats appeared at The Hague and in Paris to discover upon what terms a cessation of hostilities might be proclaimed. John Adams at The Hague and Franklin at Paris (with John Jay at Madrid) felt that the general trend of public events was favorable to the United States and refrained from appearing too anxious for negotiations looking toward an armistice. In the summer of 1781 Adams came to Paris from The Hague and Jay also came from Madrid. The British government was slow about authorizing its agents to present definite terms of peace. "John Jay, the second commissioner to have conferences with Oswald (the British commissioner) came of an old French family, long resident in America. With the inherited prejudices of a Huguenot, he had no faith in the rectitude of the Bourbon monarchy. He believed that the Frenchmen were in league with the Spaniards to confine the newly born nation within the strictest geographical limits and in this he was entirely

right" The French monarchy was largely guided by the desires of the Spanish government. In 1780 Spain had joined in the conflict. She had entered into no formal alliance with the United States, his object being to drive the English from the Floridas and once more become supreme on all the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Dreading the spread of republican ideas which would be the inevitable outcome of the colonization of the country between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies. Spain wished to see the lands northwest of the Ohio River remain in British possession rather than have it transferred to the United States" (Channing, History of the United States, Vol. III). Spain would have included the territory south of the Ohio but there were already too many Americans in that territory—Kentucky and Tennessee.

France had no scruples in desiring all the land west of the Alleghany although in the treaty of Alliance with the United States she had agreed never to reclaim any land which she had ceded to England. To be consistent she said the country west of the Alleghanies had never belonged to any one except the Indians. Summing up, Dr. Channiny says: "Nevertheless there seems to have been some kind of an intrigue set on foot by French and Spanish emissaries for the purpose of again adding these settlements (The Illinois Country) and others in the Great Lakes region to Spanish or French possession." From this discussion it seems clear that the "March of the Spaniards Across Illinois" had for its object the establishment of a claim to the country between the Alleghanies and the Missouri River—the Illinois Country.

The Treaty of Peace signed at Paris 1783, September 3d, acknowledged the independence of the United States and established the boundary line on the west as the middle of the Mississippi. This put the Illinois Country in the United States. Let us now examine briefly the claims of certain states to portions of this land between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. Massachusetts Bay Company received a charter from Charles the First of England in 1629 which provided that the company should have all the land between two parallels passing through points three miles north and three miles south of the headwaters respectively of the Merrimac and the Charles Rivers. This charter was modified by the courts in later years and its width cut down considerably. Connecticut was granted a charter in 1662 by Charles II in which the colony was given all the land lying south of the south line of Massachusetts and reaching to the latitude of New York, and reaching westward to the South Sea. Virginia was given a charter by James I in 1607, which was modified in 1609, with a grant of land bounded by two lines running west and northwest, beginning at points respectively north and south two hundred miles from Old Point Comfort. The col-

onies of North and South Carolina and Georgia also had grants in their charters of lands lying west of the settled portions reaching to the South Sea. All the Illinois country was included in the grant to Virginia in 1609. Massachusetts' grant covered the north end of the present State of Illinois and Connecticut's claim covered the territory just south of the Massachusetts' grant. Now as soon as the war had made some progress toward winning independence, the states that had grants to western lands began to renew their claims and figure on making this back country pay the cost of the Revolutionary war. Some states had no claims to land west of the Alleghanies. These were New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. Pennsylvania had a definite western boundary but the state reached well beyond the Alleghanies. New York had a hazy claim to this back country by reason of certain treaty cessions which the Iroquois Indians had made to that colony.

The Articles of Confederation had been presented to Congress in the summer of 1776, but Congress had failed to endorse them till the fall of 1777. They were then sent to the states for ratification. The provision pertaining to ratification required that the Articles must be ratified by all the colonies before they should go into effect. The weaknesses of the Articles were known by all the colonies, but some ratified without attempting to secure needed amendments. Others had delayed, and in the spring of 1781 all the states had ratified except Maryland. Maryland brought forward the doctrine that since some states had no western lands they were at a disadvantage in the remuneration of their soldiers. Virginia had already provided liberal grants of land for her soldiers, and particularly those who had served with George Rogers Clark. The states with no grants of western lands argued that since all had fought to win independence all should share the spoils equally. The western lands were regarded as legitimate spoils of war and properly subject to equal distribution among the states who participated in the war.

Some of the states were selfish and did not wish to acknowledge the legitimacy of the argument stated above. Finally all of the states had accepted the Articles except Maryland, and she stoutly refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation till the states having claim to western lands should cede this "back country" to the Congress to be used for good of all. The times demanded a certain degree of self sacrifice. The situation was critical. New York, whose claim was without a substantial basis, agreed to cede her claim to the Congress in 1781. Virginia followed New York, and Maryland, believing that the other states would cede their lands, withdrew her opposition to the Articles and ratified them on March 1, 1781. The next day, March 2d, when Congress met she was under the constitution,

that is the Articles of Confederation. The actual deeds of cession were made in the course of the next few days. Several of the deeds of cession contained reservations which were observed in the final disposal of the lands by the Government. Connecticut reserved several square miles in the northeast corner of Ohio, known as the Connecticut Reserve or the Western Reserve. Virginia reserved lands for George Rogers Clark and his men along the Ohio. The present State of Kentucky was reserved by Virginia. So Kentucky was never a portion of the National Domain, nor was Tennessee.

Following the departure of Todd there was bitter rivalries and destructive activities. Richard Winston was supposed to be Todd's successor in the civil administration, but it soon came to pass that each village went its own way and there was unity in only one thing—that was disorder. The paper money brought by Clark into the territory was next to valueless. There was very little coin in circulation and barter was an unwieldy way of doing business. The French merchants and men of affairs who wished to see the American cause prosper came forward to bolster up the tottering business end of the Virginia government in Illinois. They loaned money, sold goods on credit to the officials, and took drafts on Virginia which were never paid. There was a final withdrawal of support by these French men of means and the remnant of the military government was obliged to use force to provide soldiers and officers with food and clothing. The distressing times at the close of Todd's and Clark's active control of affairs are revealed in the correspondence carried on between the officials who resided in the territory and those who were in Virginia or other places.

The inhabitants of the several villages were losing their interest in the American cause, and in the American people. The Spanish who were near neighbors and the British who were in Canada were constantly scattering discontent among the French habitants, and the poor people were constantly harrassed by demands upon them from contending sources. George Rogers Clark wrote a letter from the Falls of the Ohio in December, 1781, to the Court of Kaskaskia in which he says that he had learned that there are in the village of Kaskaskia numerous vagabonds and refugees who are a constant annoyance to the peace and tranquility of the community since they are engaged in stealing, and committing other offences against good order and decency. He urges the court to use its powers to the extent of inflicting corporal punishment or even the death penalty, and tells them to call on the militia to carry out their orders.

During 1782 there was an Indian raid of large proportions into Kentucky from the Ohio region and in the effort to drive them out of the Kentucky territory, John Todd was killed. It is not known whether he was still acting as county-lieutenant of Illi-

nois or not, but the supposition is that he was still nominally the chief civil official in the Illinois Country though he resided in Kentucky and Virginia. Colonel Clark with a good sized body of troops avenged the death of Todd by wasting villages, crops and killing savages along the Miami River in late November, 1782.

Mustered Out

The preliminary treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed November 30, 1782, and the definite treaty was signed September 3, 1783.

It was therefore known in America in the early part of 1783 that the war was over. The governor of Virginia therefore ordered the mustering out of all the Virginia troops in Illinois. On the 18th day of January, 1783, therefore the Virginia troops in Illinois were mustered out of service, and July of that year Colonel Clark was notified that his services would be no longer needed. The following communication was sent from the governor of Virginia to Colonel Clark:

In Council, July 2, 1783.

Sir: The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the State, with regard to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone, I have come to a determination to give over all thought, for the present, of carrying on an offensive war against the Indians, which, you will easily perceive, will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will, therefore, consider yourself out of command. But, before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my council for the very great and singular service you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory from the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on a successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the Executive.

I am, with respect, sir,

Yours, etc.,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

From 1783 to the coming of Governor St. Clair in 1790, there was no semblance of civil authority except what each village maintained in its court. There are several reasons why order was lacking in the Illinois country.

First: The Act of the Virginia Legislature creating the County of Illinois, passed December 9, 1778, was renewed in May, 1780, with provision that it was to continue for one year and until the end of the next session of the Legislature. This prolonged the life of the act to the 5th of January, 1782, when the act ceased by reason of the adjournment of the Legislature.

Second: The death of County-Lieutenant John Todd, at the Blue Licks, August 18, 1782, removed from authority the only civil officer which Virginia ever sent into the Illinois country. The act creating the Illinois country provided that the county lieutenant should appoint all civil and military officers that were necessary to administer justice and protect life and property. When the act creating the county expired by limitation the authority of Todd and every one who held any office under him ceased in the Illinois country. Todd and all his appointees continued after the county ceased to exist, to exercise authority in the several villages. Of course whatever they did which was helpful to the cause of order and safety was morally right and was endorsed by fair-minded people; but when they tyrannized over the people, forced the inhabitants to furnish food and clothing for soldiers and officers which had no legal status, they were doing moral wrong and legal injustice.

Third: Another step which helped to drive the Illinois country into anarchy was the dismissal of Colonel Clark from the service of Virginia. As long as Clark's commission was in force there was some pretense that he could exercise authority in the Illinois country. At least no one rose in revolt against his authority, since it was always exercised in favor of the conditions which ought to obtain.

Fourth: A fourth consideration should be noticed. On January 2, 1781, Virginia, by action of her Legislature, began the process of ceding to the general government her claims to the lands west and northwest of the Ohio River. And while the final cession was not made till 1784, it was understood that the cession would be made. So that practically, Virginia ceased to have any control in the Illinois the moment she passed her first act of cession in 1781. She ceased legally the moment the act of cession was completed in 1784.

The final act of the cession came March 1, 1784. "The country had been in a state of unconcealed anarchy for more than two years, all semblance of Virginia authority having ceased, and the cession is quite as much a tribute to Virginia's shrewdness as to her generosity."

This cession on the part of Virginia was a transfer of title from Virginia to the Congress of the United States for all the territory northwest of the Ohio which was in later years included in the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Virginia's cession had a few provisos in it which we will state briefly: (See Boggess, The Settlement of Illinois.)

"1. The territory should be formed into states of not less than 100 nor more than 150 square miles each.

2. Virginia's expenses in subduing and governing the territory should be reimbursed by the United States.

3. Settlers should have their 'possessions and titles confirmed.'

4. One hundred and fifty thousand acres, or less, should be granted to George Rogers Clark and his soldiers.

5. The Virginia Military county lands should be located north of the Ohio River, unless there should prove to be enough land for the purpose south of that river.

6. The proceeds for the sale of the lands (ceded) should be for the United States severally."

Richard Winston whom John Todd left at Kaskaskia as deputy lieutenant commandant or county-lieutenant, served from the fall of 1779 to January 8, 1783. He then resigned and appointed Jacques Timothe Bucher Sieur de Monbreun. Winston, while civil ruler in Kaskaskia, was greatly annoyed and hindered in his work by John Dodge, a representative of the military spirit of Kaskaskia. Dodge probably did not have a military commission from any one, but assumed to do as he would if he had held a military commission. He resided in Kaskaskia for a few years after Todd left the country and he and Winston were continually at swords' points. Winston allied himself with the French faction while Dodge belonged to the American party. Dodge issued an order for the arrest of Winston who was thrown into jail. The wife of Winston appealed to the President of the Kaskaskia court to have John Dodge brought into court and show why her husband was held as a criminal. Antoine Bauvais was president of the court and he lived at Prairie du Rocher. Court was called but there were obstacles to a speedy hearing. The prosecuting attorney took the matter into his hands and heard some testimony against Winston who was given his freedom but the charges remained against him. This whole incident was a conflict between the civil and military authority in which the civil authority lost prestige. A short time after this, toward the end of the year 1782, Winston issued an order abolishing the Kaskaskia court, and the village was without a court till 1787. This allowed Dodge to carry things with a high hand.

Winston decided to go to Virginia and see if by some plan a new government could be organized in Kaskaskia. And before he left he appointed Timothy De Mountbrun as county-lieutenant as stated above. Winston appeared before the Virginia authorities but accomplished little. He died in Richmond in 1784 in great poverty. Dodge now had almost a clear field. He took charge of old Fort Gage on the bluffs overlooking the Kaskaskia village put two cannon in place and surrounded himself with soldiers and kindred spirits and ruled Kaskaskia with an iron hand.

Kaskaskia Court

The history of Kahokia from 1780 to 1790 is very different from that of Kaskaskia. These two villages and Vincennes are

the chief centers of interest in this decade of anarchy. Prairie du Rocher and Bellefontaine were considered as belonging in the jurisdiction of Kaskaskia and for a while participated in the civil affairs of this village. Grand Risseau being near Cahokia was under her jurisdiction. At one time within this period of confusion, 1780-1790, Bellefontaine, Grand Risseau and some Americans under the bluff near Bellefontaine, took steps to organize an independent government but the Cahokia court was too strong, and overawed the people of Grand Risseau and the plans never matured. The Cahokia court was well organized, met regularly and enforced its decisions. The court even went so far in civil government as to pass ordinances and enforced them. It was therefore a legislative body, an executive body, and a judicial body. The number of judges who usually sat upon the bench was six but in some cases more and in some cases fewer than six. The first court was organized by Colonel Clark and the first sitting was on December 31, 1778. Capt. Joseph Bowman, one of Clark's officers, was president of the court. The first criminal case was a charge against a negro for poisoning another negro. This case was first found in Todd's record book by Mr. Mason of Chicago. The order of Todd to the sheriff is copied in a previous chapter. Because the case has not been well understood, a brief account of the court proceedings will be given here:

Two negroes, Manuel and Moreau, were walking along a road and met a third negro. The two negroes gave the third negro a pint of tafia, who having drunk the liquor began to die by slow degrees. The wife of the dying negro testified in court that the negroes Manuel and Moreau told her that they had poisoned her husband. The case became very complicated as it was prosecuted. It developed that Manuel and Moreau had been in the wholesale poisoning business. After the evidence was all in, the States Attorney, J. Girault, made a very strong plea in which he said that both negroes were guilty as stated in the indictment and that no form of death would be too severe for them. The court then passed judgment and fixed the penalty at death. The evidence showed that Moreau was more guilty than Manuel, for he had administered the poison while Manuel had provided the same. While the court records do not state the form of death, Todd's record book says that Manuel was to be burned at the stake while Moreau was to be hanged. The early writers who had meager information thought the charge against these two negroes was witchcraft, but the court records show that the above are the facts.

The court records for Cahokia are very complete. They have been translated by Professor Alvord, formerly of the University of Illinois, under the direction and support of the Illinois State Historical Library. They are found in Volume II of the Illinois Historical Collections, and in Volume I of the Virginia series.

CHAPTER XV

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

POPULATION—THE KING'S VIEW—STATE OR NATION—MARYLAND'S DEMAND—ORDINANCE OF 1784-1785—WEAKNESS OF ORDINANCE OF 1784—OHIO COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES—ORDINANCE OF 1787—PROVISIONS OF THE ORDINANCE—BILL OF RIGHTS—THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT—TERRITORY FIRST CLASS — COUNTIES ORGANIZED — ST. CLAIR COUNTY — A MEMORIAL—IMMIGRATION—RANDOLPH COUNTY

The year 1787 was a memorable year in American history. Two distinguished groups of men both working under the lash of necessity wrought out two of the most profound and far-reaching political documents that have been produced in the history of the New World. These were the Constitution of the United States, and the Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River.

When Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia ceded their lands beyond the Alleghanies to the general government to be administered and disposed of for the good of the whole people of the United States, they imposed a task upon the government which was not less difficult than the one which the government had just successfully performed.

POPULATION

There were supposed to be at the accession of George I, in 1760, about one and a half million people in the thirteen colonies. In spite of three decades of civil and political strife, war, and national and international adjustment, there were a little less than four mlllion of Europeans and their descendants in the settled portions of the continent of North America. This was a remarkable increase when we think of the uncertainties in political and economic life which prevailed in all this country. Of this 4,000,000 people 110,000 of them were living outside of and beyond what was known at that date as the territorial jurisdiction of the thirteen colonies. The 110,000 people were not under the advantages and protection of civil government. The constant stream of emigration which poured over the Alle-

ghanies from 1775 to 1790 has been a source of study for the historian. The unknown physical conditions, the great danger from Indians, the almost unbearable hardships of the journey, the unsettled civil and political life in which one must live were no embargo on this constant movement into the new West.

The full fledged American adventurer who left a comfortable home in the southern or middle states, besides having to contend with the physical hardships of travel, the dangers from sickness in a new land, the inconveniences of markets for his surplus products, had in addition, the veiled though often open opposition of four races of people.

The Indians looked upon the coming of the Americans into the region west of the Alleghanies as a real menace to their hunting privileges and rights. The fundamental difference between the menace of the American settlers and that of the so-called settlers among the French, the Spanish or even the English was to be found in the fact that the Americans who came into the West were real home-makers. They became attached to the soil. The Frenchman was not rooted to the soil. He was here today, there tomorrow. The Spanish was much like the Frenchman. The Englishman was a real sojourner. He was here in the West because there were opportunities of money-making. In other words, the French and Spanish settlements never interfered with the occupation of the Indian. If the Americans settled in a region it was ruined for a hunting ground.

The King's View

It may not be amiss to study for a few moments the conditions under which the public lands in America were settled. The King of England always understood, in granting lands in America to individuals or to companies, that he was not relinquishing his sovereignty over the area granted. According to English law and imperial practice, the title to American soil was in the King and in those to whom he had granted it, subject in each case to the conditions of the letters patent. English conceptions of land holding were still distinctly feudal, and American land grants had been based directly upon those ideals. So the King could not alienate the property of the crown, these patents (grants of lands) were made on terms of rental tenure." According to the English idea of land holdings, the holder of land did not possess the land in "fee simple," but occupied it under terms of this rental tenure. The possessor of land could hold his grant as against any other subject so long as he paid an annual fee to the King. There grew up therefore a system of "quit rent tenure."

The agreement between the King of France and La Salle relative to the grant of Fort Frontenac as well as to the grant

of the entire Louisiana country was that La Salle should pay a quit rent annually in lieu of all other claims which the King of France might have. The same conditions were provided in the grant of Crozat, who was to give the King of France one-fifth of all gold and silver mined in the Louisiana country.

The English Kings in making grants in the New World required quit rents of all grantees. These quit rents are quoted at two shillings to each hundred acres. All unoccupied land, that is, all ungranted land, was held subject to the wish of the King. When James I succeeded in getting the charter of Virginia annulled in 1624, he resumed control of all ungranted land within the limit of the charter of 1609. All the lands therefore west of the Alleghanies, according to the old English theory of land holding, reverted to the King of England. When the King of England acknowledged the independence of the United States and agreed to and acknowledged a definite boundary line, he transferred the sovereign control of all lands and all people within the said boundary to another sovereign power, namely, the United States. This transfer of the unoccupied land west of the Alleghany Mountains was a transfer in "fee simple," a sort of quit claim deed.

State or Nation

To whom did the King of England transfer the unoccupied land in America? There were two answers to this. One theory was that the different states (formerly colonies) each was given the unoccupied land within its boundary. The resolution by Richard Henry Lee in the Continental Congress of 1776 read: "Resolved that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." In the Declaration of Independence the above words are inserted and in addition this: "and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, etc." These quotations would seem to indicate that the states were to be free and independent (sovereign) states. If so then Virginia owned all the land in Illinois not heretofore granted to some individual or to a group of individuals by some sovereign power which for the time was in control of the territory. This theory that the states were recognized as independent sovereignties was the basis of the doctrine of states' rights.

The other theory was that when the United Colonies asserted their independence they were not thinking about each colony becoming an independent (sovereign) state, for Patrick Henry, who early in the first Continental Congress declared that he was no longer a Virginian but an American. He said: "Where

are your land marks, your boundaries of colonies?—I am no longer a Virginian, but an American." And Christopher Gadsden of Charleston, South Carolina, wrote to a friend of his in London as early as 1765: "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers, etc., known on the continent, but all of us Americans." The commissioners who worked out the terms of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain were the envoys of the new sovereign power, the United States of America. They spoke for no state, they spoke for the United States. The British Government would not have honored their appointment if it had been made by any one state or any three states.

From this it appears that Great Britain must have transferred her sovereign control of the unoccupied land in America to one sovereign power and that this transfer clothed the United States with the ownership of a public domain, and we did not have to wait till the different states made their transfers in order to come into control of a public domain.

Maryland's Demand

The Articles of Confederation were presented by John Dickinson to the Continental Congress in the middle of the summer of 1776. The document lay upon the table till late in the summer of 1777, when Congress endorsed the Articles as a frame work of government. The Articles were then sent to the states for ratification as provided in the document itself. The states began to ratify, but the end of February, 1781, had arrived and the document was not in force because one state, Maryland, had not yet ratified it. "The delay in ratification of the Articles was not due in any way to the undesirableness of the form of government to be established under them, but to the jealousy of the states that had no claim to western lands towards those who were more fortunate in this respect." The lands west of the Alleghanies were known to be rich agricultural regions, and nearly everyone expected a general movement of population to these rich western lands as soon as the war was over.

The states that had no claims to western lands were New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. The Articles were so favorable to the small states, giving them equal voting strength, in the Congress, with the larger states, that Delaware, New Hampshire, and New Jersey ratified without stubbornly refusing because of the western land situation. This left Rhode Island and Maryland. The former state soon after ratified, and the whole question of a national government was up to Maryland. She positively refused to sign unless all the states having claims would cede those claims to the general government.

On February 19, 1780, the New York Legislature passed an act of cession. It was laid before Congress March 7, 1780. January 2, 1781, the Virginia Legislature passed an act of cession. On March 1, 1781, Maryland, taking the promises of the several states for the real act, ratified the Articles of Confederation, and on the next day, March 2, 1781, the Congress of the United States met under a written constitution.

The deeds of cession must all be presented to Congress and be accepted. The first deed accepted was that of New York, which was presented and accepted October 29, 1782. By November 13, 1784, all the states having claims north of the Ohio River had ceded their lands and the transfers were either completed or on the way to early completion.

Ordinance of 1784-1785

Now that the United States had come to own a vast area of the richest land in the world, the question that next arose was, what disposition shall be made of it? Thomas Jefferson was a member of Congress from Virginia in 1784 and being chairman of a committee to consider how the western lands should be disposed of, reported on March 1, 1784, a temporary plan of government for these lands. It was amended more or less and was passed April 23, of the same year. By this plan the territory west of the Ohio should be made into ten states. These states might be admitted into the Union when the population was as large as that of the least populous of the original thirteen states. This ordinance was never put into operation.

A second ordinance was passed in the year 1785, May 20. This was what has been called the Survey Ordinance. This ordinance provided for the appointment of a Geographer of the United States. Under his direction and oversight, the lands west of the Ohio were to be surveyed and maps made. The system was what we know as the rectangular system survey. Most people are quite familiar with this system. The law provided for the first or principal meridian to be drawn north from a point on the Ohio River which is due north of the west end of the south line of Pennsylvania. Then other north and south lines were to be drawn at distance of every six miles, west of the first or prime meridian. Through the said point on the Ohio River an east and west line should be drawn, and other lines parallel thereto every six miles to the north and the south. Thus we see the territory north and west of the Ohio River and Pennsylvania would be cut into rectangles six miles each way. These are known as Congressional townships, or as townships. Plats or maps were to be made and returned by the Geographer to the Board of Treasury of the Congress.

The Geographer was especially charged to have the surveyors make notes on their maps or plats of the location of all *mines,*

salt springs, salt licks and *mill-seats, quarries,* etc. This rectangular system of survey is in contrast with the "metes and bounds system" which prevailed in Kentucky and Tennessee. The reservation of Connecticut on the south side of Lake Erie and that of Virginia along the Ohio were not surveyed and platted by this township system. The Survey Ordinance provided that the townships should be sub-surveyed so that the rectangle should be divided into thirty-six equal "lots" or as we are accustomed to say, sections. These "lots" or sections should be numbered as we know they were beginning at the northeast, etc. The ordinance says:

"There shall be reserved the lot of 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools, within the said township; also one-third of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines to be sold or otherwise disposed of as Congress shall hereafter direct." Thomas Jefferson has been given the credit for originating the rectangular system of survey, but Col. Charles Whittlesey gives the honor to Thomas Hutchins, the first "Geographer of the United States." This title was afterwards, 1796, changed to that of Surveyor-General, and the first person to hold this latter title was Gen. Rufus Putnam. Doctor Hinsdale in "The Old Northwest" says that Thomas Hutchins conceived this system in 1764 when he was a captain of the Sixtieth Royal Regiment, and engineer to the expedition to the Ohio, under Col. Henry Boquet. He was at one time stationed at Fort Chartres, so it is claimed. He resigned his position in the British army and after being a prisoner in London for treasonable correspondence with Benjamin Franklin, he joined the American army at Charleston under General Greene. He died at Pittsburg in 1789. The first principal meridian is the east line of Ohio. The second principal meridian is the meridian 84,° 51′ west longitude. This meridian is some eighteen miles west of Indianapolis. The third principal meridian is the meridian of 89,° 10,′ 30″ west longitude, and runs north practically from the mouth of the Ohio River passing through Mound City, the county seat of Pulaski County. The fourth principal meridian is the meridian 90,° 29,′ 56,″ and runs north from the mouth of the Illinois River. This meridian governs the surveys west of the Illinois River and that part of the state north of the Illinois River and west of the third principal meridian.

Weakness of Ordinance of 1784

When Thomas Jefferson was a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress in 1784, he worked out the details of the ordinance of that date. He was very favorable to the peopling of the land west of the Alleghany Mountains. Most statesmen thought of the back country as a source of income with which the old debt could be paid. But Jefferson was opposed to charg-

ing a price for the western lands to settlers, because, he said, these settlers will become a part of the nation and will be taxed to help pay the nation's debt, and that was as much as they ought to be expected to do. But the Ordinance of 1784 brought no settlers to the back country. People were coming into the West, but they were not coming because of the Ordinance of 1784. They were individuals who were of an adventurous nature and were attracted to the West because the West was the counterpart of their ideals. Governor Reynolds in his "Pioneer History," gives the names of the people who came into the localities of the French villages especially about Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and other nearby localities, from the early days of the Revolutionary war to the coming of Governor St. Clair. But there was no general emigration into the territory northwest of the Ohio. This is not to say that there were none who were planning large movements of people into this Northwest, but up to 1787, there had always been some difficulty arise which postponed action. The soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary war were paid off at the close of the war with paper money or with "certificates of indebtedness," which could not be exchanged for coin. Just what they could do with these certificates was a problem. As people began to hear more of the lands beyond the Ohio, they also commenced to plan for the exchange of their "certificates of indebtedness." A body of officers who were, in the latter part of 1783, out of military service or soon to be out, petitioned Congress for a grant of land west of the Ohio where they might organize a state which might eventually be admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the thirteen original states.

Ohio Company of Associates

It appears that there were many officers about Boston who had large holdings of the "final certificates." It was proposed that a sort of company be organized having for its end the conversion of those "final certificates" into broad acres on the fertile prairies of the West.

In the year 1785 three prominent men from about Boston had acquired a great deal of enthusiasm for this movement into the west. They were Gen. Benjamin Tupper who visited Pittsburg. Another was Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons who visited as far west as Louisville, and a third, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, who was introduced to Thomas Hutchins in New York in the latter part of the year 1785. Hutchins told Cutler that the best place to settle in the West was about the Muskingum River. The Ohio Company of Associates was formed in Boston March 3, 1786. The directors of the company sent General Parsons to Congress to propose the purchase of a large tract of land west of the Ohio by the Ohio Company. Parsons presented his pe-

tition to a committee and after an interview or two with the committee he returned to Boston. His place was taken by Dr. Manassah Cutler.

Doctor Cutler was a scientist of considerable note, a Congregational minister of great influence. He had interested himself in the old soldiers who were at loss to know what to do in order to realize on their "final certificates." When Doctor Cutler arrived at New York on July 5th, 1787, the committee to whom had been referred the proposed ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory was about ready to report thereon. The times were critical, the Government was approaching a final dissolution, brave hearts were, however, not ready to desert the sinking ship. Over at Philadelphia a group of men from the old thirteen were working out a new experiment in government. The Constitutional Convention of some fifty of America's most profound thinkers was half done the task of writing up a frame of government for a "more perfect union."

Ordinance of 1787

There were only eight of the thirteen states represented in the Continental Congress—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The purpose of the visits of both General Parsons and Doctor Cutler was to negotiate the purchase of a tract of land on the Ohio River in the name of the "Ohio Company of Associates." This company had $1,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness with which they wished to purchase the lands on the Ohio. Doctor Cutler, being a minister and an educated man and one who looked upon the things of culture as of as much worth as broad acres of rich land, interested himself in the work of the committee which was just ready to report the new ordinance for the government of the land beyond the Ohio. He conferred with them orally and gave them many new ideas as to the principles which should be incorporated in the ordinance. He arrived on the 5th of July and by the 10th such headway had been made that the committee consisting of Carrington and Lee of Virginia, Dane of Massachusetts, Kean of South Carolina, and Smith of New York, invited Doctor Cutler to submit in writing his views touching the points which had been discussed orally. This he did. On the 11th of July the committee presented the report, the Ordinance of 1787, and after three days' discussion the report was adopted by the unanimous vote of the states present. Thus we see that an act creating a government for a large area of the country was rounded out and finished in less than two weeks which Congress had been working on for two or three years.

We have said that Doctor Cutler's real mission was the pur-

chase of $1,000,000 worth of land on the Ohio. On July 23, 1787, Congress adopted a resolution which authorized the Board of Treasury to contract with any person or persons for a grant of land lying just north of the Ohio, east of the Scioto River, west of the west line of the seventh row of townships and reaching as far north as the tenth range. The resolution provided that the land should be surveyed by the purchasers according to the rectangular system. The 16th section should be reserved for school purposes and sections 8, 11 and 26 should be reserved for religious purposes; and two townships of land reserved for a university. The price fixed by Congress was $1.00 per acre, in gold or silver, or in loan office certificates reduced to a specie basis.

On July 26, three days after the Board of Treasury was authorized to contract the sale of this large piece of land, Doctor Cutler and Winthrop Sargent addressed a communication to the Board of Treasury in which they offered several changes in the contract. One pertained to the survey of the land; one to the payment which the purchasers fixed at one half million at signing of contract, one half million when survey is completed, and remainder in six equal annual installments; one provided for the establishment of the university; another provided for the transfer of deeds; another guaranteed, morally, the payment of the deferred installments; a final provision called attention to the fact that none of the lands were to be settled until payments have been made.

On October 27, 1787, Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent bought of the Congress 1,500,000 acres of land lying in the tract as marked off in the Resolution of July 23, 1787. Cutler and Sargent purchased a large tract on their own account. Other friends were let in on the ground floor and arrangements made for the sale of the land in smaller lots. An agent was sent to Europe to place this land on the market in that country. Considerable of this land was sold in France and a goodly number of French made a settlement at a place they called Gallipolis—the city of the Gauls. On the 29th of August John Cleves Symmes applied for a permit to purchase a large tract on the Miami River. As a result of his petition the Congress sold to Symmes and his associates 1,000,000 acres, the sale was afterwards modified and the amount reduced.

Provisions in Ordinance

1. The territory northwest of the Ohio River shall for the purposes of government be considered one district, but may be divided into two if found expedient.
2. The estates of persons dying intestate shall descend to the children of said person in equal parts. If there are no children then to nearest of kin.

3. Estates may be bequeathed by wills in writing, and real estate may be transferred by deed, signed, sealed, and delivered.

4. The laws for the descent of property in Kaskaskia, St. Vincents, and other French villages shall remain unchanged by this ordinance.

5. For purposes of government Congress shall from time to time support a governor who shall serve three years who shall reside in the said territory. There shall be a secretary who shall serve four years; he also must reside in the said territory. The duties of the secretary shall be such as devolve upon similar officials in like situations. The Congress shall appoint a court consisting of three judges who shall live in the territory. Their appointments shall run during good behavior.

6. The governor and judges shall adopt and publish such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and suited to the needs of the district. These laws must be reported to Congress from time to time.

7. The governor shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the militia.

8. The governor for the time being shall appoint civil officers for the counties, townships, etc.

9. After territorial legislatures are organized, these shall make laws for appointments to civil offices in the counties, etc.

10. The laws adopted shall be in force in all parts of the district. The governor shall lay out and organize counties for the more convenient execution of law and the preservation of order.

11. When the population has reached 5,000 free male inhabitants 21 years of age there shall be organized a territorial Legislature made up of representatives elected from the several counties or other units. The appointment being one representative for every 500 free male inhabitants. There were property and residence qualifications for both electors and representatives. Vacancies in the representation should be filled by election.

12. There should be a legislative council made up of five members holding office for five years. These five councilors were to be selected by Congress from a list of ten nominated by the Legislature.

13. The legislative functions of government shall be exercised by the governor, the council, and the representatives. Bills passing both houses of the Legislature, and being signed by the governor, become laws. The governor had the power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the Legislature.

14. The two houses of the Legislature in joint session shall elect a delegate to Congress who shall have all rights of members except voting.

15. For the purpose of extending the fundamental principles

of civil and religious liberty which form the basis of these republics; and "to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of states and permanent government therein; and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states."

Following the outline of government as given above there were six articles which constitute a sort of Bill of Rights such as are found in the constitutions of most of the states today. The Ordinance of 1787 regarded the articles which are given below as "articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent.

Bill of Rights

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of trial by jury.

They shall be entitled to proportionate representation in the Legislature, and of judicial proceedings.

All persons shall be entitled to bail except in capital cases. All fines shall be moderate, and cruel and unusual punishments shall never be inflicted.

No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

No law shall ever be made which shall interfere with contracts previously entered into, if bona fide and without fraud.

Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Good faith towards the Indians shall be observed, and their property, rights and liberty shall not be invaded unless in just wars authorized by Congress.

Art. 4. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America.

The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debt, contracted or to be contracted.

The legislatures of those districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil, to the bona fide purchasers.

Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory not less

than three, nor more than five states, with boundaries as follows: The state farthest west shall be bound by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash and the meridian of Vincennes, and on the north by Canada. The middle state by the meridian of Vincennes, the Wabash, the Ohio and the meridian of the mouth of the Great Miami River, and on the north by Canada. The eastern state shall be bounded by the meridian of the mouth of the Great Miami, the Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and on the north by Canada.

But Congress may run an east and west line through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan and form two states out of the territory to the north of this line.

When any one of these states shall have 60,000 free inhabitants it may be admitted as a state into the Union, on equal footing with the old thirteen states.

Art. 6. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the said territory except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

Slaves or involuntary servants escaping into the said territory shall be delivered up to the ones to whom such labor or service is due.

The Movement Westward

The Rev. Manasseh Cutler had quietly done a great work. He had served his company well, but he had rendered a great service to the millions who were to be the pioneers in the Northwest Territory. Not only so, but he marked out in the ordinance the fundamental principles upon which government was built in most of the Louisiana Purchase. In fact the Ordinance of 1787 contained the most rational plan of colonization which the world has ever seen. As the United States has come into possession of more territory, the principles so clearly marked out in the Ordinance of 1787 have been applied to the settlement and government of the new colonies which sprang up on the new lands.

The Ordinance of 1784 and the one of 1785 brought no settlers into the lands west and north of the Ohio River. The work of surveying the territory west of the Ohio was proceeding, and for the purpose of aiding and protecting the people thus engaged a fort was erected at the mouth of the River Muskingum in the year 1786. The fort was called Fort Harmer in honor of General Harmer who was in charge of the protection of the people in the Northwest Territory.

The ordinance was passed July 13, 1787. Doctor Cutler and Winthrop Sargent closed their purchase deal with Congress for the 1,500,000 acres lying west of the "seven ranges" and east of the Scioto River, October 27, 1787. But there must have been considerable activity around the offices of the Ohio Company of Associates through the summer of 1787, for "before

the end of the year 1787, the vanguard of the first colony was on the march through Pennsylvania to the upper waters of the Ohio. They reached Youghiogheny River somewhere in the vicinity of Fort Necessity on January 23, 1788, and on February 14, 1788, a second division of the New England adventurers arrived. Here they constructed boats in which they were to descend the Ohio. In several boats led by the Mayflower the expedition moved down the Ohio. On April 7, 1788, Gen. Rufus Putnam, a hero of two wars, might have been seen standing majestically on the deck of the Mayflower as the fleet neared the mouth of the Muskingum. This New England colony numbered forty-eight souls—men.

Here was a beginning from which great enterprises were to develop. They began the spring work in regular pioneer style. Trees were felled, foundations were laid, a city was begun, a stockade was erected and lo! the City of Marietta and Camp Martius stand forth, April 7, 1788. Not far behind this vanguard of emigrants we see coming the strong arm of the government, the officials who are to secure the guarantees laid down in the compact of the ordinance.

Territory First Class

On October 5, 1787, Congress selected Gen. Arthur St. Clair as governor of the new territory, and Winthrop Sargent for secretary. A short time after Samuel Holden Parsons, James M. Varnum, and John Cleves Symmes were chosen judges. These men were all public spirited citizens. These men were not only interested from the standpoint of public spirit, but most of them were interested in the grants of land which have been mentioned above.

Two of the judges and probably the secretary reached Marietta shortly after the landing of the settlers. On July 4th was held the first celebration of Independence Day west of the Ohio. Judge Varnum was a prominent lawyer of Rhode Island, and had served in the Revolutionary war. It was thought proper that Judge Varnum should give the oration. Governor St. Clair landed at Marietta July 9, and was received with appropriate civic and military honors. On the 15th of July, the governor and secretary, and Judges Parsons and Varnum were formally received by the citizens of Marietta. General Putnam welcomed the officials to the scene of their future labors. The first session of the governor and the judges as a legislative body was held on the 26th of July. At this session the County of Washington was created. The county included the territory in the region of the new town and Fort Harmer. Marietta was made the county seat. Later on a local court was organized, judges, sheriff and other officials appointed and installed. This was all done with considerable ceremony. The sheriff opened

court in the old English style. From an elevated place he made the accustomed proclamation: "O, yes! a court is open for the administration of even-handed justice to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case." Paul Fearing was admitted to the bar and was the first practicing attorney under the government of the Northwest Territory.

The legislative body then turned its attention to the enactment of laws. The following abstract follows Dillon's "Historical Notes":

1. The first law was one providing for the establishment of a militia system in the territory of the United States.

2. A law providing for Courts of Quarter Sessions, County Courts of Common Pleas, and a law providing for the office of sheriff, and for the appointment of sheriffs.

3. Another law providing for the establishment of court of probate.

4. A law providing for the sitting of the general court in the territory to hear general cases beyond the adjudication of the courts of the counties. This court was to be held by the three judges or by any two of them. They were to be held four times a year in such counties as suits the pleasure of the judges. This general court shall have civil and criminal jurisdiction. The law provided for adjournment of sessions and for continuance of processes.

5. A law was enacted providing for oaths of office for the several officials in the several counties.

6. A law respecting crimes and the punishments thereof. Treason, murder, and arson, if death results, are punishable by death. Burglary and robbery, by whipping, fines and imprisonment. Minor offenses were punishable by fines, whippings, disfranchisement, or the pillory. Offenders who could not pay their fines were sold by the sheriff for limited terms according to the offense.

Children or servants who were disobedient to the commands of their parents or masters might be sent to a house of correction by the courts.

Drunken persons were to be fined for the first offense five dimes, for the second offense ten dimes and for the third they could be sent to the stocks.

"Whereas, idle, vain and obscene conversation, profane cursing and swearing, and more especially the irreverently mentioning, calling upon, or invoking the Sacred and Supreme Being, by any of the divine characters in which he hath graciously condescended to reveal his infinitely beneficent purposes to mankind, are repugnant to every moral sentiment, subversive of every civil obligation, inconsistent with the ornaments of pol-

ished life, and abhorrent to the principles of the most benevolent religion. It is expected, therefore, if crimes of this kind should exist, they will not find encouragement, countenance, or approbation in this territory. It is strictly enjoined upon all officers and ministers of justice, upon parents and others, heads of families, and upon others of every description, that they abstain from practices so vile and irrational; and that by example and precept, to the utmost of their power they prevent the necessity of adopting and publishing laws, with penalties upon this head. And it is hereby declared that the Government will consider as unworthy its confidence all those who may obstinately violate these injunctions."

This quotation has been made at length to enable the reader to obtain some insight into the notions that the people of that time held relative to profanity. In an additional paragraph the governor and judges lay down the rule governing labor and acts of charity upon the Lord's day or the first day of the week.

7. A law regulating marriages. Marriage contracts cannot be consummated unless the intention of the parties to the contract is published at least fifteen days before the marriage. The means of publicity was announcement in the place of worship three different Sundays or holy days, or by publishing through a written statement acknowledged before a justice of the peace, etc.

8. This was a supplementary law pertaining to Act 1 relative to the organization of the militia.

9. A law providing for the exercise of authority by the coroner.

10. A limitation of the time of commencing civil and criminal actions.

The governor and the judges spent the fall and early winter on the foregoing legislation and in conferences with the Indians in the region about the lakes. On January 9, 1789, Governor St. Clair began to treat with the Six Nations, the Wyandottes, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, and Sacs. These treaties secured peace at least for a while with these troublesome neighbors.

On June 15, 1789, General Knox, secretary of war, sent a long communication to the President of the United States in which he gives the distressing fact that defenseless whites along the Ohio have been brutally killed by savages who seem to have headquarters along the Wabash. The secretary reports 2,000 warriors about Vincennes, and the United States troops on the border do not exceed 600. President Washington was greatly distressed at the dangerous situation for the settlers along the Ohio. In an official communication to Governor St. Clair he ordered the governor to proceed with dispatch, if with safety, to the locality of Kaskaskia and Vincennes that the inhabitants

in those and other villages might have confirmed to them the lands which Congress had promised them in 1785. This was that the Congress would confirm their lands to all inhabitants of the Illinois country who were residents in Illinois in 1783 and who had taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain.

Counties Organized

Governor St. Clair, the Secretary, and the Judges left Marietta about January 1, 1790, and went down the Ohio River to a place called Losantiville, the present city of Cincinnati. Here the governor by executive order created a county which he named Hamilton, the county seat he called Cincinnati. The site had been selected for a town and its name was to be Losantiville. But it is said no houses had been built and there was no town there when Governor St. Clair reached it in 1790. In 1795 there were fifteen small frame houses and as many log cabins. There was not a brick in the town.

From Cincinnati the governor and the other officials proceeded to Kaskaskia which they reached in the early part of March, 1790. Governor Reynolds, who came to Illinois in the year 1800, had an opportunity to obtain first hand information with regard to conditions in Illinois not only at the time he came but for several years before the date of his coming. Governor Reynolds estimated that in 1800 there were 2,000 white people in Illinois. Of these he says 800 were Americans, while 1,200 were French or French descendants. The proportion of Americans to French which Governor Reynolds found in 1800, would not be that of 1790 when Governor St. Clair arrived. The American population grew very much in the decade from 1790 to 1800, but there was evidently no growth in the number of habitants. The Hon. E. B. Washburne, who has written a charming sketch of Edward Coles, the second governor of Illinois, in discussing the make-up of the early people, says: "The earliest inhabitants of Illinois were French Canadians, and emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina—The emigration from Kentucky was by far the best, Tennessee was below Kentucky, and the North Carolina emigration was mostly "poor whites." This is partly accounted for by saying that the Americans were from slave states and only the non-slave holding people came into the West and it was that class that was poor.

St. Clair County

Notwithstanding the fact that the people were poor and ignorant and unstable in their attachments, the governor proceeded to lay off a county which by some hook or crook was named St. Clair. It was bounded on the west by the Illinois and the Mississippi, and on the south by the Ohio, and on the north-

east by a straight line drawn from the Illinois River at the mouth of Mackinaw Creek to Fort Massac on the Ohio. The county officials appointed by Governor St. Clair were as follows: Sheriff, William Biggs; coroner, Charles le Fevre; surveyor, Antoine Gerardin; captains, John Edgar, J. B. Dubergin, Philip Engle, F. Janis, James Piggott; notary public, Joseph La Bussiere; judges Court of Common Pleas, Jean Baptiste Barbeau, John Edgar, Antoine Gerardin, Philip Engle, John de Moulin; Court of Quarter Sessions, John Edgar, Philip Engle, Antoine Gerardin, Antoine Louviers; justices court of St. Clair County, Francis Trottier, E. Janis, Nicholas Smith, James Piggott, B. Saneier; judge of probate, Bartholomew Tardeveau; clerk and recorder of deeds, Wm. St. Clair.

It will be noticed that in several cases the same man was appointed to more than one office. It will be noticed also that about twenty out of twenty-eight positions were held by French citizens. Cahokia was made the county seat. It appears that all this organization work was done while the governor was sojourning at Kaskaskia, though Cahokia was made the county capital.

The third task was the problem of land claims. After he had gotten the official list made up, the governor put out a proclamation in which all the citizens were notified to come to his office and present their titles to the lands they claimed. Colonel Todd had required the same thing at the hands of the land owners. It was the purpose to make records of all claims as a matter of precaution. As a result of this order a great many brought in their titles and their claims were recorded. The governor in a report to the United States secretary of state said: "Orders of survey were issued for all the claims at Kaskaskia, that appeared to be founded agreeably to the resolutions of Congress; and surveys were made of a greater part of them. A part only of those surveys, however, have been returned, because the people objected to paying the surveyor, and it is too true that they "are ill able to pay." Governor St. Clair said the settlements in Illinois on the Wabash were in great distress and, had been since they came under Clark's domain. The people in Kaskaskia and in other towns had furnished supplies for the troops under General Clark with everything they could spare and had been paid in a currency that was without value, and when they had presented their claims to the State of Virginia their claims had been rejected. In addition to the loss of what was justly due them from the State of Virginia nature had been very hard on them. There had been three inundations of the American Bottom within recent years and their crops had either been swept away or they had been hinderd from planting. In addition to all this the governor calls attention to the fact that the Indians had been unfaithful and had in some instances been even hostile.

"They are the most ignorant people in the world, there is not a fiftieth man that can either read or write." The following memorial signed by Father Gibault, Priest, presents a sad picture:

A MEMORIAL

(Abridged)

St. Clair County, June 9th, 1790.

To His Excellency Arthur St. Clair,
Governor and Commander-in-chief
Of the Territory of the United States
Northwest of the River Ohio.

The memorial humbly showeth that by an act of Congress of June 20, 1788, it was declared that the lands heretofore possessed by the said inhabitants should be surveyed at their expense; and that this clause appears to them neither necessary nor adapted to quiet the minds of the people. It does not appear necessary, because from the establishment of the colony to this day, they have enjoyed their property and possessions without disputes or lawsuits on the subject of their limits; that the surveys of them were made at the time the concessions were obtained from their ancient Kings, Lords and Commandants; and each of them knew what belonged to him without attempting an encroachment on his neighbor, or fearing that his neighbor would encroach on him. It does not appear adapted to pacify them, because, instead of assuring to them the peaceable possessions of their ancient inheritance, as they have enjoyed it till now, that clause obliges them to bear expenses which, in their present situation, they are absolutely incapable of paying, and for the failure of which they must be deprived of their lands.

Your Excellency is an eye witness of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provision to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their parts, and for which, it is conceived by them, there is no necessity? Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your Excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before the Congress; and, as it may be interesting for the United States to know exactly the extent and limits of their ancient possessions in order to ascertain the lands which are yet at the disposal of Congress, it appears to them, in their humble opinion, that the expense of the survey ought more properly to be borne by Congress, for whom alone it is useful, than by them who do not feel the necessity of it. Besides, this is no object for the United States, but it is great,

too great, for a few unhappy beings who, your Excellency sees yourself, are scarcely able to support their pitiful existence."

Signed, Fr. P. Gibault,
and Eighty-seven Others.

In January, 1790, before Governor St. Clair left Clarksville on the Ohio for Kaskaskia, he sent to Major Hamtramck, the officer in command at Post Vincennes, some speeches which he asked to have delivered to the several Indian tribes on the Wabash. Major Hamtramck selected Antoine Gamelin as one who could translate these speeches to the Indians and do it in such a way as to leave the best impression possible. Mr. Gamelin performed this service in the early summer of 1790 and returned to Vincennes in June of that year. He reported that on the whole his mission had been fruitless. He reported that the Indians were in an ugly mood and that they were already on the war path. When Governor St. Clair received this word he immediately prepared to return to Fort Harmer for the purpose of organizing an army for the safety of the settlements in the Northwest. Before leaving Kaskaskia to return to Fort Harmer, he deputized Winthrop Sargent to complete the work of making a permanent record of the lands claimed by the citizens on the Mississippi and the Wabash. He was also directed to lay out and organize a county with Vincennes as the county seat.

Sargent proceeded immediately to Vincennes where he laid out Knox County, established the county seat at Vincennes, appointed the various civil and military officers and began the work of making records of the land claims presented by the citizens. Mr. Sargent in reporting his work to the President said there was an utter lack of system in the few records that had been kept and the only evidence to rely upon was the oral testimony of the land claimant and his neighbors. He reported that not more than one case in twenty were the records complete. "In one instance, and during the government of Mr. St. Ange here, a royal notary ran off with all public papers in his possession, as by a certificate produced to me. And I am very sorry further to observe that in the office of Mr. Le Grand, which continued from 1777 to 1787, and where should have been the vouchers for important land transactions, the records have been so falsified, and there is much gross fraud and forgery as to invalidate all evidence and information which I might otherwise have acquired from his papers."

On the 13th of July, 1790, there were 143 heads of families living in Vincennes who were living there in 1783. This period of residence entitled the individual to a grant of land which the Government was authorized to confirm to the individual.

Congress on March 3d, 1791, passed a law which provided that the governor of the Northwest Territory was empowered, in cases where lands had been actually improved and cultivated

under a supposed grant from some one in authority, to confirm to such person, his heirs, and assigns, the land which he had improved and cultivated; provided not more than 400 acres should be confirmed to any one person. Secretary Sargent was so fair and yet so firm in the administration of the functions of temporary governor that the people of Vincennes sent him a communication expressing their great delight and entire satisfaction in his conduct of the governor's office.

By reason of the lack of proper military organization the attack upon the Indians in Northern Indiana and elsewhere in the North resulted in the defeat of General Harmer and General St. Clair in two campaigns and the military forces were put under the command of Gen. Anthony Wayne, who eventually (1794) forced the Indians to sue for peace. But those unsettled conditions took the attention of the governor and his associates in government and little attention was given to Illinois and the settlements lapsed into a listless order of civil and political life not much different from that prior to the coming of St. Clair.

Immigration

The Indian wars very greatly retarded the growth of population through immigration. Governor St. Clair estimated that there were only 15,000 inhabitants in the Northwest Territory in 1795. But following the victory of General Wayne over the Indians on the Maumee River in 1794 there was a continually increasing number of immigrants into the Northwest Territory. Very naturally most of these immigrants stopped in Ohio, a smaller number came into Indiana, and a still smaller number into Illinois. The treaty of Greenville which was signed in 1795 lulled all suspicion of the whites, and there was a tendensy between the whites and Indians to hold friendly intercourse with one another. "Forts, stations, and stockades were abandoned to decay; the hardy pioneer pushed ever forward and extended the frontier; and men of capital and enterprise, securing titles to extensive bodies of fertile lands, organized colonies for their occupation, and thus the wilderness under the tread of civilization was made to blossom as the rose.

Following the departure of Governor St. Clair in 1790, the Illinois country made little or no progress. There was a goodly number of immigrants arrived, but governmental question lagged. The general government had taken the governor and the three judges to task for making laws instead of adopting laws from the other states. The three judges had assumed additional functions as the Government became more complicated. It was a court of original and appellate jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. There was no appeal from its decisions.

It therefore soon came to be called a supreme court. It was occupied more in Ohio, at Marietta and Cincinnati, than in the Western country. There was no session in Illinois from 1790 to 1794. In 1793 St. Clair sent word to the judges that court should be held in Illinois. But it was October, 1794, before Judge Turner reached Kaskaskia. He had just previously held court at Vincennes and had encountered much opposition there, and by the time he reached Kaskaskia he was in a resentful frame of mind. While Cahokia was the county seat the official life seemed to be at Kaskaskia. There was a lack of interest in political life in St. Clair County and Judge Turner attempted to correct some faulty conditions as he saw them. He therefore ordered the court records to be removed from Cahokia to Kaskaskia. The clerk, Mr. William St. Clair, brother to General St. Clair, the governor, refused to obey the judge. The judge removed the clerk and put the records in the hands of a Mr. Jones. William St. Clair then resigned as clerk of the court, and the inhabitants of the North end of the country signed a very complaining remonstrance. Governor St. Clair restored his brother as clerk and ordered him to take charge of the records. Governor St. Clair was detained at Cincinnati, but he and Judge Symmes arrived at Kaskaskia in the early part of 1795. It appears that Judge Turner had left this part of Illinois. Governor St. Clair in conjunction with Judge Symmes divided St. Clair County into two counties by the following:

Randolph County

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the division of the County of St. Clair into districts, etc.—Now Know ye, that by virtue of the power vested in me by the United States, I have ordered and ordained and by these presents, do order and ordain, that all and singular, the lands lying and being within the following boundaries, viz: Beginning at the Cave Spring, a little south of New Design, and running thence due east to the line of the County of Knox, and thence south with that line to the Ohio River, thence with the Ohio to the Mississippi, thence with the Mississippi to the parallel of the said Cave spring, and thence to the place of beginning, shall be a county named and hereafter to be known and called by the name Randolph, which said County of Randolph shall have and enjoy, all and singular, jurisdiction and rights, liberties and immunities whatsoever to a county appertaining, and which any county that now is or hereafter may be erected and laid out shall or ought to enjoy conformably to the ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, bearing date the 15th day of July, 1787.

In testimony, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed, at Cahokia, in the County of St. Clair, the 5th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1795, and of the Independence of the United States the twentieth.

Arthur St. Clair, Governor.

CHAPTER XVI

NORTHWEST TERRITORY—FIRST AND SECOND CLASS

THE OLD CONGRESS—FIRST CLASS—SECOND CLASS—DELEGATE —TERRITORY DIVIDED

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for a progressive system of government for the territory northwest of the Ohio River. The more one studies this basic law, the more he wonders that it should have come from a body of men, the congress under the Articles of Confederation, with so little experience in self-government.

THE OLD CONGRESS

It has been pointed out that the old Congress had dropped to a very low ebb in political life by the year 1787. Many of the public men of the several colonies, or states, had refused to be honored with seats in the Congress. And more particularly in the summers of 1786 and 1787 public men of great ability were holding themselves in readiness to answer the call of their states to act as delegates in the approaching Philadelphia convention to consider the amendments to the Articles of Confederation. A list of the public men who sat in the constitutional convention will include the great men of the time. Washington, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, Randolph, Dickinson, Morris, Sherman, Ellsworth, Patterson, Rutledge, and the two Pinckneys were all present. When these men are excluded from a list of the really great men in the United States at that time, what is left will not include many men of note.

However, the ordinance shows that the men who made it, though they may not have been among the great statesmen of the time, were yet able to present a wonderful framework for self-government.

FIRST CLASS

The ordinance provided that the machinery of government should be very simple. There were to be three stages of government. The first stage was known as First Class; the next as Second Class; and the next as Third Class, or Statehood. The differentiation depends upon population. The territory of the first class was, by the ordinance, provided with a governor, three judges, a secretary, and such military officers as could be used, to be appointed by the governor. The governor and the three judges sitting together constituted the legislative department

for a territory of the first class. They were limited in their legislative capacity to the adoption of laws already on the statute books of the old states. Even then Congress was to have the right to veto any of these laws as to their use in the Northwest Territory. After the laws were adopted by the governor and the three judges, the governor was to enforce them and the three judges sat as a court either alone or in company with one or two of the other judges. This form of government continued from the coming of St. Clair in 1788 to the year 1798. In the latter year it was found that the Northwest Territory had the required number of inhabitants and it passed from a first class to a second class territory. The ordinance required 5,000 free male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age before the second class government could be organized. This requirement was omitted in the ordinance as revised by the Congress under the Constitution.

Second Class

As soon as the governor was satisfied that there were 5,000 free white males of twenty-one years or over, he ordered an election to be held on the third Monday of December, 1798, for the choice of members of the Lower House of the Territorial Legislature. The newly elected Legislature was called to meet at Cincinnati, on the Ohio, February 4th, 1799. The summer of 1798 was spent in the first political fight in the Northwest Territory. At this time there were nine counties in the territory, and, according to the ordinance, there was to be one representative to every 500 voters. The proclamation called for twenty-two delegates, so it appears there were found to be 11,000 voters in the territory. The counties, the number of representatives, and the men chosen are given herewith:

Hamilton County (seven members)—William McMillan, John Smith, Robert Benham, Aaron Caldwell, William Goforth, John Ludlow, and Isaac Martin.

Ross County (four members)—Thomas Worthington, Samuel Findley, Elias Langham, and Edward Tiffin.

Wayne County (three members)—Solomon Sibley, Jacob Visgar, Charles F. Chobart de Joncaire.

Washington County (two members)—Johnathan Meigs, Paul Fearing.

Jefferson County (one member)—James Pritchard.

St. Clair County (one member)—Shadrach Bond.

Knox County (one member)—James Small.

Adams County (two members)—Joseph Darlington, Nathaniel Massie.

The ordinance also provided that the lower branch should select the names of ten men, which list should be sent to the President of the United States, from which he is to select five who shall sit as the council members. The following five men

were selected at the first session of the lower branch of the Legislature, which occurred February 4, 1799, at Cincinnati. The following men were chosen by the President:

James Findley, Hamilton County.
Jacob Burnet, Hamilton County.
Henry Vandeburg Knox County.
David Vance, Jefferson County.
Robert Oliver, Washington County.

Shadrach Bond, the representative from St. Clair County, was a native of Maryland, and was born November 24, 1778. He was a farmer boy. He came to Illinois in 1794. He had only a very plain education. He was a large jolly man, and very popular. He was an enthusiastic hunter. Burnet, in his "Notes on the Northwest Territory," gives a short sketch of each of the men in the Upper and Lower House. Jacob Burnet was a member of the Upper House. He wrote very fully of the Northwest in the year 1847. He shows that the twenty-seven men whose names appear above were men who in later years became prominent, and he shows that many of them held high offices.

It has been stated that the Lower House met February 4, 1799. All they could do at that time was to select the ten names from which the President was to choose five. The Lower House then adjourned till the 16th of September, when both branches of the law-making body assembled. The governor delivered his message and the mill was ready to grind.

Delegate

One of the important duties was the selection of a delegate to represent the Northwest Territory in the Lower House of Congress at Washington. Many friends of Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati, solicited him to become a candidate, but his law practice and lack of means prohibited him from even thinking of accepting so honorable a station. The honor then was contended for by William Henry Harrison and Arthur St. Clair, Jr. After a spirited preliminary the two houses met in joint session and balloted for the choice of the joint session for delegate to Congress. William Henry Harrison was elected, the vote standing twelve for Harrison and ten for St. Clair. Mr. Harrison was at that time secretary of the Northwest Territory. This office he resigned and proceeded without delay to Congress, which was then in session at Philadelphia.

One of Mr. Harrison's first accomplishments was to secure the passage through both houses of Congress of a bill providing for the subdivision of townships, and for the sale of the public lands in small tracts. The speculators opposed the bills very much, as they preferred to buy the land from the Government in townships and to resell the sections or half sections to the actual settlers. Up to this time the sale of the public lands had been

made only to the rich in large quantities. Now the poor man, or at least the ordinary well-to-do man, could buy directly from the Government. The amount was reduced to 320 acres. The price fixed by the Government when the ordinance was put into force was $1 an acre cash—that is in specie. By the legislation which Mr. Harrison was enabled to secure, the amount was reduced to a half township, but the price was fixed at $2 per acre, with a required payment of one-fourth down at time of entry. The purchaser was allowed one, two, and three years on the balance of the purchase price. The settlers were thus enabled to secure 320 acres for a cash payment of $80. The Government was very lenient in the matter of the deferred payments. This was the policy of the Government from 1800 to 1820, when the purchase price was fixed at $1.25 per acre, to be paid for in full at the time of purchase. It was estimated in 1820 that there was due the Government on the deferred payments on land sales the sum of $20,000,000.

This legislation, making it easy for poor people to buy land in the Northwest Territory, was the most popular bit of legislation which had been enacted relative to this territory. It made Mr. Harrison very popular not only in the West, where the people profited by his foresight, but even the members of Congress from the older states saw in the young delegate from the West the possibilities of a great statesman in the near future.

Gen. William Henry Harrison was the son of Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The younger Harrison was educated at Hampden Sydney College and afterwards was a student in a medical college at Philadelphia. But he did not finish his course, but left the study of medicine to fight the Indians in the West. He was commissioned an ensign and was aide-de-camp to General Wayne and distinguished himself in the battle of Maumee Rapids. He was secretary of the Northwest Territory under St. Clair, and was elected as a delegate to Congress to represent the Northwest Territory as a second class territory and took his seat in December, 1799.

Territory Divided

On May 7, 1800, Congress passed an act which divided the Northwest Territory into two divisions by running a line from the Ohio River, opposite Kentucky River, to Fort Recovery and thence north to the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The part of the territory lying east of this line should be known and called the Northwest Territory, and retained all the officials which were serving at that time.

All that part of the old Northwest Territory which lay west of the line drawn north from the Ohio opposite Kentucky River was to be called the Indiana Territory. The seat of government

was located at Saint Vincennes. The law dividing the Northwest Territory was to go into effect July 4, 1801. The President appointed William Henry Harrison governor of the new territory. John Gibson, of Pennsylvania, was named as secretary, while William Clark, John Griffin, and Henry Vanderburgh, were named as judges. The form of government was to be that of a territory of the first class.

The part of the old Northwest which lay east of the dividing line spoken of above was soon to be made into the State of Ohio. There were in 1800 seven counties in what afterwards came to be Ohio. Their names and their population were:

Adams County, population	3,432
Hamilton County, population	14,692
Jefferson County, population	8,766
Ross County, population	8,540
Trumbull County, population	1,302
Washington County, population	5,427
Wayne County, population	3,206
Total population	45,365

The ordinance provided that whenever any division of the territory as marked out in the ordinance should contain 60,000 inhabitants, it should be admitted as a state into the Union. In 1810 the Federal census gave Ohio 230,760 inhabitants. This would give an increase in ten years of 185,395, or an average yearly increase of 18,539. In 1801, therefore, the population of Ohio was 63,904. However, the census taken by the territory itself in 1801 showed only 45,028 persons. The political situation was rather tense in Ohio and those who wanted statehood petitioned Congress for an enabling act. Congress complied and a convention met at Chillicothe November 1, 1802, and two days later Governor St. Clair made a speech to the convention which offended the republican party, and President Jefferson dismissed the governor at once. Governor St. Clair was a very strong Federalist and the speech was an excuse for his dismissal. The Constitution was duly made and accepted by Congress, and on February 19, 1803, the state was recognized as a member of the Federal Union.

CHAPTER XVII

ILLINOIS PART OF INDIANA TERRITORY

INDIANA TERRITORY CREATED—THE SIXTH ARTICLE—VOTE ON SECOND CLASS—INDENTURED SERVANTS—MOVE TOWARD SEPARATION—DUELING—DIVISION ACCOMPLISHED

On May 7, 1800, the President of the United States signed the bill which Congress had just passed creating the Indiana Territory. The following is a brief analysis of the act.

INDIANA TERRITORY CREATED

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that from and after the 4th of July, 1800, all the territory west of a line beginning at the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence due north to the line between the United States and Canada, shall for purposes of temporary government constitute a separate territory and be called Indiana Territory.

Sec. 2. The government within the said territory shall be similar in all respects to that provided in the ordinance passed by Congress the 13th of July, 1787; and the inhabitants shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges secured to the people in the said ordinance.

Sec. 3. The officers appointed by the President of the United States, for the government of the said Indiana Territory, shall exercise similar powers therein as are provided in the said ordinance.

Sec. 4. All that part of the said ordinance providing for the organization of a general assembly shall be applicable to the said Indiana Territory when the majority of the freeholders may wish such general assembly, though there may not be 5,000 voters.

Sec. 5. Prohibits the officials in the Northwest Territory from exercising any authority in the Indiana Territory after July 4th, 1800, and also permanently fixing the boundary line between Indiana Territory and Ohio when it shall be admitted into the Union, at the meridian of the mouth of the Great Maumee River.

Sec. 6. That until further enacted by the legislatures of the said territories, the seat of government for the territory north-

west of the Ohio River shall be Chillicothe, and that of the Indiana Territory shall be Vincennes.

The period of ten years between the coming of St. Clair to the Illinois country, in 1790, and the creation of the Indiana Territory, in 1800, had been one of apparently studied neglect. Only one term of court for the punishment of crimes had been held within that ten years. The settled regions in Knox, St. Clair, and Randolph counties had become places of refuge for criminals. The appointment of sheriffs, judges, military officials, etc., had been made with a flourish in 1790. But few of the men appointed ever performed the duties of the office. The officials of the Northwest Territory were of course all Americans, likewise the settlements north of the Ohio were made up of Americans, excepting Gallipolis. It is easy therefore to see why the officials lingered about the American settlements. The people of Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia were with few exceptions French or of French descent. St. Clair said they were the most ignorant people imaginable. Colonel Todd gave these conditions as his reasons for wanting to resign the control of these same three French villages. In 1800 there were some indications that these three centers of population in the West might get some attention from the general Government.

Governor Harrison at the time of his appointment was a delegate from the Northwest Territory in the Congress at Philadelphia. He was not able therefore to come to Vincennes to take control of the government of the Indiana Territory on July 4, 1800. The secretary, John Gibson, therefore, was empowered to proceed with the installing of the machinery of government. The secretary appointed all necessary officers and the laws which had been a dead letter for the past ten years took on new life and every one looked forward to the reestablishment of order and the restoration of life along all lines. Governor Harrison reached Vincennes on January 10, 1801, and on the 12th he convened the judges in a legislative session for the adoption of such laws as the conditions required. Quite a few pressing needs were attended to along the legislative lines. It was taken for granted that the laws that were in operation in the Northwest Territory before the separation of Indiana thereform were in operation in Indiana without being reenacted. At the first sitting of the legislative body, the governor and three judges, there were six laws passed. These were amendatory to those in force before the division. The argument in favor of the validity of the old laws in the Indiana Territory was based on the theory that the division was for administrative purposes. This interpretation was upheld by the courts in a case that came before the judges in 1803. Again since the Indiana Territory must drop back to the stage of territory of the first class, the laws must by the ordinance be adopted from older states.

The Federal census of 1800 showed population as follows:

Indiana proper	2,517
Illinois proper	2,458
Michigan proper	551
Wisconsin proper	115
Total	5,641

In this count there were reported in Illinois as it is today—Fort Cahokia, 719. At Bellefontaine, 286. South end of St. Clair County, 250. At Kaskaskia, 467. At Prairie du Rocher, 212. At Mitchell's Settlement (six miles east of Belleville), 234. At Fort Massac, 90. Peoria, 100. On the Wabash (on the Illinois side), about 110. This gives the proper number, 2,458, for Illinois. In this total for the Indiana Territory of 5,641, there were reported 135 slaves and 163 free Negroes. But Dunn, in his "Indiana," thinks the report on the number of Negroes and slaves is inaccurate.

The Sixth Article

One of the questions which arose in the early history of the Indiana Territory was, "How can the provision of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787 be set aside?" This article reads: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes where the party shall have been duly convicted."

It will be remembered that when Governor St. Clair arrived at Kaskaskia in 1790, one of the most troublesome questions presented to him for solution was, does the ordinance set free the slaves held about Kaskaskia? Governor St. Clair, after taking the matter under advisement, gave out a public statement that the ordinance did not free the Negroes held in bondage in the Illinois country prior to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, but that it did prohibit the bringing in of slaves from other states.

During the decade from 1790 to 1800 there was little interest in the Northwest Territory by the slave-holding interests. Emigrants from Maryland, Virginia, or the Carolinas who passed to the west of the Alleghanies stopped in Kentucky or Tennessee or passed on into the Spanish territory. People from the older states who were opposed to slavery, if they came West, stopped in the Northwest Territory. Ohio of course got most of this class, Indiana received a smaller number, and Illinois received very few. There were those who thought that Illinois might increase her population by securing an annulment of the sixth article of the ordinance.

On January 12, 1796, a petition was presented in Congress from Kaskaskia asking for a repeal of article 6 of the ordinance. The petition was presented in the House, but seems not have been received with much favor. In 1799 a petition from some

old Revolutionary soldiers was presented to the Indiana Legislature asking permission to bring their slaves with them and to reside on the military tract reserved by Virginia, but the Territorial Legislature stated it would be incompatible with the articles of the compact. In 1800 a petition was circulated about Kaskaskia, where it was very generally signed, asking Congress to permit the introduction into the Indiana Territory of slavery and the establishing of a system of gradual emancipation. The petition was presented on January 23, 1801. It was never acted on.

Notwithstanding the fact that all efforts to secure an annulment of the sixth article of the ordinance, the friends of slavery made one more effort to have set aside this article. Governor Harrison visited Kaskaskia in the fall of 1802, where he was petitioned to call a convention for the purpose of considering the best means of securing the admission of slavery into the Indiana Territory. November 22 he issued a call for such a convention. At this time there were four counties in the Indiana Territory, St. Clair, Randolph, Knox, and Clark. The first two counties were to send three delegates each, Knox four, and Clark two. The sheriffs of the counties were to hold the elections; the convention met at Vincennes on Monday, December 20, 1802. The delegates from St. Clair County were Jean Francois Perry, Shadrach Bond, and John Moredock. Those from Randolph were Pierre Menard, Robert Reynolds, and Robert Morrison.

The Vincennes Convention

The convention thus made up of twelve good citizens was presided over by Governor Harrison, and John Rice Jones was secretary. In a memorial to Congress they show that many good people are driven to the Spanish side of the Mississippi because they can not bring their slaves into the Indiana Territory. They ask for a suspension of the sixth article for a period of ten years, during which time Negro slaves may be brought into the territory, after which the article should be again put in force. The convention also asked that treaties be made with the Indians for the extinction of their titles to land in the south end of the Indiana Territory. Another request they made was that a grant of 400 acres of land to each person who opened good wagon roads and established inns or hotels along the public highways.

The memorial was sent to Washington by a special carrier and presented to Congress. The matter was taken up in Congress and referred to a committee, which reported unfavorably. One part of the report, which is supposed to have been written by John Randolph, of Virginia, is as follows: "The rapidly increasing population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not

necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region." The people in the Indiana Territory were greatly disappointed at the failure of Congress to comply with their requests. But they were not altogether discouraged. The second legislative session of the governor and judges was held in the fall of 1803. At this session the Legislature passed a law which provided that persons coming into the Indiana Territory "under contract to serve another in any trade or occupation shall be compelled to perform such contract specifically during the term thereof."

The two Illinois counties, as soon as the Louisiana purchase should be placed under civil authority, asked to be made a part of the Louisiana Territory. (Annals Eighth Congress, pp. 489-555, 623.) Congress afterwards changed the plan somewhat and made the governor, judges and the secretary of the Indiana Territory the officials of the District of Louisiana. The two were distinct governments, but the same officials served both. It has been said that the prominent men of Kaskaskia and Cohokia were willing to do anything to get out from under the control of Governor Harrison. There were political contests and savage political attacks among the public men of the time.

The appointees of Governor Harrison who lived along the Mississippi began to agitate the public mind for a separation of Illinois from Indiana. The Ordinance of 1787 had been confirmed by the Congress under the Constitution and at the same time there were several minor provisions which were changed. In the draft of 1787 there must be 5,000 voters in a territory before it could pass from the first stage to the second stage, and must have 60,000 inhabitants before it could be admitted as a state. The Ordinance of 1789 did not give a minimum number of voters as a requirement for passing from the first stage to the second stage. In 1801 the Illinois people wanted the governor to consent to the plan of making Indiana Territory a territory of the second class. He objected. But now in 1804 the governor is anxious to change and the people were indifferent. To show that they were indifferent or were preoccupied, we need only call attention to the light vote that was cast when the election was called for an expression on the part of the voters.

Vote on Second Class

The people of the Illinois section, as has been shown, wanted slavery. But they were wholly at the mercy of a governor and other officers who were in no way under obligation to the people who at that time desired a territory of the second class. The people thought that if they had a representative, that is a delegate, in Congress that their wishes would be much more likely to be granted by Congress than by a legislative body made up

of the governor and the three judges. There was another reason why some people were looking forward to the coming of a second class territory. The people who desired the introduction of slavery had persistently petitioned Congress and the governor to be allowed to bring slaves into the Indiana Territory. Now they argue that if they had a delegate in Congress they might be able to present their wants in a more effective way. And again they thought that a territorial legislature might be able to think out some relief from the provisions in article 6 of the ordinance.

On the 4th of August, 1804, the governor of the Indiana Territory issued his proclamation calling an election to be held in the several counties in the Indiana Territory on September 11, to determine the wish of the voters on the question of passing from a first class to a second class territory. From August 4th to 11th of September would be only thirty-eight days, and with the meager means of communication at that time it was impossible to inform the entire voting population. Besides the shortness of the time, there was in some quarters a certain amount of indifference which could not be overcome. The men who were for the passing to the second grade in 1801 were now against it, and they probably thought that the less agitation, the less likelihood the measure would have of passing.

At the time of the election there were six counties in the Indiana Territory, namely, St. Clair, Randolph, Knox, Clark, Dearborn, and Wayne. The last named county included all of what is now Southern Michigan. The vote stood as follows: St. Clair, sixty-nine for and twenty-two against; Randolph, nineteen for and forty against; in Dearborn County there were twenty-six votes, all against the advance to a second class; in Clark County forty-eight votes were cast and a majority of thirty-five was for advancing to second class. Knox County voted 137 for advance to twelve against. Wayne County was not aware an election was held till it was all over. On December the 5th, 1804, the governor proclaimed that "Indiana Territory is and from henceforth shall be deemed to have passed into the second or representative grade of government, and that the good people of the territory, from the date thereof, are entitled to the rights and privileges belonging to that situation."

Election of representatives was held in January, 1805. St. Clair sent two representatives, Shadrach Bond and William Biggs, while Randolph County sent George Fisher. When the list of ten names was presented to the President, he chose John Hay, from St. Clair, and Pierre Menard, from Randolph, to sit in the Upper House. The first session of the two houses was held in Vincennes July 29, 1805. The governor, following a custom established many decades previously, the delivering of a message to the Legislature, gave to this representative body his

recommendations as to the subjects upon which he wished legislation.

In his message to the Legislature he recommended the passage of a law to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. He also called attention to the need of an improved judicial system, to the need of the reorganization of the militia, more vigorous laws for the punishment of crime and a better system of raising revenue. The two houses of the Legislature in joint session elected Benjamin Parke, of the eastern half of the territory, as delegate in Congress from the Indiana Territory. He was opposed by the anti-Harrison faction, who charged that Parke was and would be a tool in the hands of Governor Harrison, but Dunn's Indiana praises the services of Benjamin Parke to Indiana and her people.

The Legislature at this session, in the summer of 1805, adopted many of the laws which had been in force in the Northwest Territory and also in Indiana Territory while it was a territory of the first class. Before the legislature adjourned it authorized the appointment of a commission to revise all the laws which had been adopted by the Legislature. John Rice Jones and John Johnson, two very prominent lawyers, were appointed to make the revision. This they did and their report was made in the session of the Legislature of 1807.

Indentured Servants

But probably the most far reaching actions taken by the Legislature in 1805 was the passage of a law which bore the title: "An act concerning the introduction of Negroes and Mulattoes into this territory." Without doubt this law was in conformity to the wishes of a great many people in the Indiana Territory. They were not willing to cease their efforts to secure the repeal of the sixth article of the ordinance. The Legislature of 1805 petitioned Congress for "relief," as they termed it, from the sixth article. The act mentioned above provided:

1. That Negro slaves may be brought from any state or territory of the Union into the Indiana Territory.
2. Within thirty days the owner of any of said slaves might enter into an agreement with such slave, before a clerk of the court, to the effect that the slave should serve his owner for a designated number of years.
3. If the slave refused to enter into such agreement, the owner could remove the slave to any slave state or territory.
4. Slaves under fifteen years of age could be brought into the Indiana Territory and held, males till they are thirty-five, and females till they are thirty-two years old, with no other formality than the registration of these minors with the clerk of the court.

5. Children born of slaves under the indenture system were to serve their masters, males till they are thirty, and females until they are twenty-eight.

6. Masters were required to give bond for the good behavior of Negroes who might become free under the provisions of this law.

At the same session a law was passed that applied only to white apprentices, similar in some respects to the indenture law. This indenture law was viciously attacked by the press of other states and territories and was defended by some of its supporters in the Indiana Territory. One defender of the law said it would be the means of clearing 700,000 acres of rich land in the territory. The bringing of these slaves from the South would greatly relieve the overcrowded conditions of the South. It would be a great blessing to the slaves who were brought from the South, "where they are driven in famished droves—where farms are overstocked with them—where they are hired out for want of employ to every mercenary wretch, whose only study is how he may strain the most labor with the least sustenance—where they are fed on cotton seeds, stinking fish, and the very off-scourings of the soil—where they are lashed, slashed, fettered and trodden down—where the least glimmering of hope never comes, but slavery without end.

"From this soul-sinking situation, worse than non-existence, they are brought into the Indiana Territory, where they are bound to serve for seven years to industrious farmers, who work in the same field with them; here they are decently clad and well fed with good, wholesome food; here they may learn industry, frugality, and in short how to gain a comfortable living; cheered and delighted with the sure and certain prospects of future freedom to themselves and their children."

The contest between those who favored the introduction of slavery and those who opposed it was bitter and continuous. The session of 1805 had under consideration a petition to Congress asking for the admission of slavery into the Indiana Territory, but for some reason it failed of endorsement by the Lower House of the Legislature. Another matter that was demanding the attention of the public men was that of separating the Indiana Territory, the west part to be known as the Illinois Territory. From the separation of the Indiana Territory from the Northwest Territory, and the appointment of William H. Harrison as governor of the new territory, there had grown up a strong anti-Harrison party not only about the Mississippi settlement, but in the territory about Vincennes. We have already seen that some of the Illinois people would rather be joined to the Louisiana Territory than to remain under the tyranny of Governor Harrison. Congress was petitioned to separate the Illinois country from the Indiana Territory in 1806. The committee to

whom the petition was referred reported to the house that it would be "inexpedient" to comply with the request.

Move Toward Separation

The people in Illinois were not at all unanimous in wanting the separation of the territory. However, petitions were sent to the governor of the territory as well as to Congress, the people thinking that agitation at least was worth something. In 1805 a petition was signed by about 350 people about Kaskaskia and Cahokia asking for separation. One reason for asking for the separation was the distance from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. The petitioners said it was 180 miles, that the road to the capital lay through a rough and dangerous country, flooded at one season and at another so dry that water could not be had for the traveler. As a result of this long and hazardous journey to the seat of government, few people except those who were by necessity required to visit the capital ever undertook the journey thither. The inconveniences and hardships of the journey were magnified into a dangerous undertaking. Those who favored separation argued that without a division of the territory, the Illinois side would lose all its citizens, as Louisiana was offering inducements for immigration into her territory.

At the same time that this petition reached Washington, another was presented which prayed as earnestly that the territory be not divided, claiming that the people were too poor to support two territorial governments. All these petitions were patiently received by Congress, and were referred to appropriate committees. The Congress was of course not concerned in these contentions and the committees reported adversely on the petitions.

The first session of the Legislature of the Indiana Territory had met in 1805, July 29. A special session was held November, 1806. The chief thing before the special session was the admission of slaves into the Indiana Territory. Petitions with arguments were forwarded to Congress. An additional law relative to indentured servants was passed. It provided that the unexpired time of indentured Negroes and mulattoes might be levied upon and sold as personal property. The law provided that the indentured Negro or mulatto whose time was thus sold must serve the purchaser for the remainder of his term, and the purchaser was required to carry out the agreement of the original master. Certain stringent police laws applicable to slaves and indentured servants who should be found as many as ten miles from the home of the master were enacted. The punishment for the infraction of these police laws was whipping, thirty-nine lashes.

Dueling

The second session of the Legislature met August 17, 1807. St. Clair County sent Shadrach Bond, Jr. (who was afterward

the first governor of Illinois), and William Biggs; Randolph County sent George Fisher. These sat in the Lower House. In the Upper House from these two counties were Pierre Menard, from Randolph, and John Hay, from St. Clair. These two men resigned, and their places were filled by Shardrach Bond, for St. Clair, and George Fisher, from Randolph. These two vacancies were filled by special election of Rice Jones, from Randolph, and John Messinger, from St. Clair County. Pierre Menard and John Hay were bitter opponents of separation. The fight for and against separation grew so bitter that a feud grew between the two factions and led to serious consequences. Shadrach Bond challenged Rice Jones to a duel. Jones accepted, but on the field of honor friends secured an amicable adjustment and the duel was called off. However, Dr. James Dunlap, Bond's second, expressed himself very freely about the matter and the feud grew more dangerous, and on December 7, 1808, on the streets of Kaskaskia, Doctor Dunlap shot and killed Rice Jones. Dunlap fled to Texas, where he lived and died.

Jesse B. Thomas was a member of the house of delegates from Dearborn County. He was a candidate for delegate in Congress. He had no special convictions about the matter of division of the territory, but entered into a secret pact with the friends of division that if they would support him for the position of delegate, he would pledge them his influence in Congress to secure the division of the territory. He was elected as delegate October 26, receiving six votes out of ten. Thomas repaired to Washington, where he found Congress in session. Petitions for and against slavery and for and against division were coming to Congress thick and fast. On the 13th of December all these petitions were referred to a committee of which Jesse B. Thomas was chairman. The other members were Kenan of North Carolina, Bassett of Virginia, Taggart of Massachusetts, and Smilie of Pennsylvania.

Division Accomplished

This committee was kept busy reading petitions for and against both slavery and division. On December 31 the committee reported a bill favorable to the division of the Indiana Territory. Mr. Thomas argued in favor of division that a majority of the people of the territory favored a division, and to meet an argument that a division would be very costly, he contended that the increased value of the public land would more than offset any additional cost of the government. An estimate was made that there were 11,000 people in the Illinois country, and 17,000 on the Indiana side of the Wabash. The act reported by the committee was passed and approved by the President on February 3, 1809. The act provided that all that part of the Indiana Territory lying west of the Wabash River and a line running due north of Vincennes to the line separating the United States

from Canada should be incorporated into a separate territory, with a separate government, and be known as the Territory of Illinois. The committee that recommended the division of the Indiana Territory estimated the population of Illinois at 11,000, and that of Indiana at 17,000. The Federal census of 1810 gives St. Clair County as having a population of 5,007, and Randolph as having 7,275 inhabitants, or a total for Illinois Territory of 12,282 inhabitants. Indiana Territory by the same census was reported as having 24,520.

We thus take our leave of Indiana Territory, Governor William Henry Harrison, and Old Vincennes. Henceforth we shall think of them only as neighbors, but we shall acquire some of their citizens, among whom was the Hon. Jesse Burgess Thomas, who, after having secured the division of the Indiana Territory, applied for and received the appointment as one of the three judges of the Illinois Territory. He was a resident of Dearborn County, in the Indiana Territory, but he had made bitter enemies by bringing about the division and he thought best to cast his lot with the people of the new and promising young territory. He first settled near Prairie du Rocher, but later moved to the vicinity of Cahokia.

By the act of separation Illinois Territory became a territory with a first-class government and we shall proceed to the organization of that government.

CHAPTER XVIII

PERSONS, PLACES, AND THINGS

What men think, how they feel, and what they do are always interesting things in the story of human history. How the thinking, feeling, and doing of one age differs from that of a previous age is the story of human progress. It is this improved situation along any or all three of these lines that become objects of the intensest interest. Nature charms us by her aspects of power, by the display of her beauty, or by the revelation of her purposes. We stand in awe before Niagara, the Colorado canon, or the giant trees of California. We are transfixed by the beauty of the landscape, the extent of the rolling ocean, or the glory of moon and stars. And we bow in humility before the wisdom and goodness of God as we more and more discover the plans and purposes in his dealings with his earth and his people.

Nature everywhere—the deserts of the sub-tropics, the mountains, the plains, the forests, the prairies, the meandering streams, the islands, the caves, the glaciers, and the wild expanse of the polar regions—lures us to her study and companionship.

But the works of man have also an interest, and a double interest, when combined with the interests we have in nature. History is what the human race has thought, felt, and done. The particular feature of history that adds to its value as a profitable study is that we may discover that back of all that man has done in the world lies purpose good or bad. Interest is also added when we discover that we are thinking the same thoughts, are moved by the same emotions, and are doing the same things that man in all ages have thought, felt, and done, The interest therefore which we might have in persons, places, and things if near at hand in time and place does not differ in quality from that which is distant in time and place. An incident in the early history of Illinois has all the elements of interest and value that might be found in the far away incidents of time and space. The incident of the founding of the first church at old Kaskaskia on the Illinois River by Father Marquette is not different in quality from that of the planting of the first church on the shores of England. The block houses and palisades with which our forefathers in Illinois were so very familiar have all the elements of human purpose in them that may be found by a profound study of the walled cities of Europe or the Chinese wall. We shall therefore be abundantly justified in calling attention to persons, places, and things that had to do

with the earliest history of our beloved commonwealth. In this chapter we shall of necessity have a "twice told tale," but it shall be short and possibly presented in a new setting.

Very naturally we should begin with two great characters, Marquette and Joliet. Marquette had devoted his life to the telling of the story of the cross. His heart burned with the desire to visit the Illinois country and to preach the Gospel to its people. While living in this restlessness in his humble home in Mackinac, Providence sent him a helpmeet in the person of Joliet whose life had been one of activity among the Indians along the St. Lawrence. These two men with frail barks risked life and all for the opening of the roadway into the heart of the Illinois country. Marquette after founding the first church in Illinois in the spring of 1675, died amid the forests along the east side of Lake Michigan. His bones rest in the mission he loved so well at Mackinac. The great Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, the great bluffs at Alton and the Piasa bird, the beautiful bluffs and hills which skirt the Illinois River, Grand Tower rock, Peoria Lake, Starved Rock, Buffalo Rock, and Chicago portage were all put on the map by Marquette and Joliet.

The story of La Salle and Tonti must always be told together. Their fortunes were destined to be won or lost together. Many fine qualities of head and heart are found in these inseparable friends. We know their story. They gave France a boundless empire between the Alleghanies and the Rockies. They revealed the greatness of the Mississippi as a great artery of commerce and trade. These two men gave us Creve Coeur and Fort St. Louis.

Father Hennepin's name is intimately connected with the exploration of the Upper Mississippi. The Hennepin Canal perpetuates his name. Father Marest ministered to the missions at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and at Peoria. Father Mermet founded a mission at the present site of old Fort Massac in 1711. He afterwards ministered to the mission at Peoria.

Crozat was in Illinois from 1712 to 1717. He was seeking to develop the mines which the French thought could be opened in the Mississippi Valley. His contribution to Illinois was the extension and more definite knowledge of the geography of the state.

Lieutenant Boisbriant gave us the first Fort Chartres, 1720, and introduced us to the showy military life of the French in America. Phillipe Francois de Renault brought slaves to Illinois and thus helped to fix slavery in our state which was not abolished till well into the nineteenth century. Kaskaskia, a village on the portage between the Mississippi and the Kaskaskia River, was a flourishing city of 2,500 people at the close of the French and Indian war. It contained a college as early as 1720. Its church was the one established at Old Kaskaskia by Marquette.

Its old bell given to the church by the King of France is still in possession of the church.

One of the most interesting of the French commanders of Fort Chartres was Neyon de Villiers. He took a company of French soldiers from Fort Chartres to Fort Du Quesne in midsummer, 1774, and with the assistance of another brother captured George Washington at Fort Necessity, July 4, 1774. The new Fort Chartres which was built in 1754-7, was a stone structure of large dimensions. It inclosed about four acres of ground. Its walls rose from 15 to 18 feet high, and were more than two feet in thickness. It and the church of St. Anne, which was in the village near by furnished the standards for social and religious life in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Jesuits were outlawed in France in 1764, and in 1766 all their possessions in Illinois were confiscated by the government and sold. This order had a large plantation, a monastary, a brewery, and other public property. The monastary became the headquarters of the British when they moved from Fort Chart in 1772.

Chevalier de Rocheblave, the British commandant who surrendered Kaskaskia to Colonel Clark, was a well known character in Illinois. He had taken the oath of allegiance to the British government and when the last British commander left with his troops for Canada, Rocheblave was given the command of the town. He was sent as a prisoner to Williamsburg, Virginia, where he was held as a prisoner of war. He was later released and returned to Canada where he was active against the thirteen colonies.

Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, was the leader of the uprising of the Indians in opposition to the British at the close of the French and Indian war. He was assassinated in the streets of Cahokia. His body was taken to St. Louis and given Christian burial by some French friends.

Fort Gage was a fort about which little is known. It was built by the French and was probably occupied during the French and Indian war. Captain Pittman who visited Kaskaskia in 1767 says the fort was on a bluff across the river. He says it was burned in October, 1766. This evidently has reference to the wooden buildings inside the embankments which were of earth. These embankments remain and are very distinct, 290 feet by 265 feet.

Col. George Rogers Clark, a Virginian, in command of about 175 soldiers, captured Kaskaskia from the British, July 4, 1778. He afterwards captured Cahokia and Vincennes. These were not hard tasks as there were no British troops at any one of the three places. Clark's exploits gave the Americans a claim to the land as far west as the Mississippi. Col. John Todd a soldier with Clark in the conquest of Illinois, was afterward made civil commandant of the Illinois country. He ruled from 1779 to 1782,

though he did not reside in Illinois during the latter part of this period. The Todd Record Book in the keeping of the Chicago Historical Society is one of the rare original documents of Illinois history.

Starved Rock has become the best known physical object in the state. It is a bluff some 125 feet high and covering not more at the base than a few acres. It was the site of Fort St. Louis which Tonti constructed about 1682. The grounds hereabouts have been purchased by the state and a park is being maintained. It is some few miles below Ottawa on the Illinois River. Between Starved Rock and Ottawa is Buffalo Rock. This too is a very noted natural object. It is not so high but covering much more ground than Starved Rock.

Col. Francis Vigo, a Sardinian, was a Spanish soldier and served in the West Indies and about New Orleans. He came to St. Louis just after the French and Indian war. He was a fur trader and accumulated considerable money. He was a real friend to Col. George Rogers Clark. He furnished food and clothing for Clark's army. He held at one time $20,000 of worthless Continental money for which he had furnished supplies. He died in poverty near Vincennes in 1835 at the ripe age of eighty-eight years.

Gabriel Cerre was a rich Frenchman who was a resident of Kaskaskia at the time that Clark captured that town. The villagers reported Cerre as a bitter enemy of the Americans, but it appeared upon investigation that the people were jealous of Cerre and that they hoped to win Clark's favor by turning on Cerre. Cerre came before Clark and took the oath of allegiance and like Vigo rendered Clark a real service.

James Moore was one of the two spies sent by Clark from Kentucky to Kaskaskia in 1777. He was a captain in Clark's army. He lead a band of Virginians to Kaskaskia in the fall of 1781 and in the spring of 1782 he lead his little party to Bellefontaine and settled. The old trail from Prairie du Rocher goes north a few miles below the bluff, then ascends to the upland and runs north as many as ten to twelve miles probably a few miles more and then descends into the alluvial plain. About half way across this upland was Bellefontaine. This region is full of rather large sink holes, and good springs are abundant. With James Moore was one Rutherford. Three other men, Bond, Kidd and Garrison, settled in the low lands near the river and were the first Americans who settled in this low bottom land and so the alluvial plain from Alton to Kaskaskia was afterwards called the American Bottoms.

New Design was settled by James Lemen, Sr., a Revolutionary soldier who was at the surrender of Cornwallis in 1781. He came to Illinois and settled a mile south of Bellefontaine. Mr. Lemen was the first person who was added to the Baptist Church

STARVED ROCK

by immersion. He became a very influential pioneer, and it is said was approached by Aaron Burr and solicited to join Burr's expedition down the Mississippi.

By 1796 there were salt works just under the bluff west of New Design. A trail followed the foot of the bluffs from Prairie du Rocher, and on this trail north of St. Phillipe, which was a French village, was an American village called Hull's Town, and still further north a village called Sandy Meadows. South of Prairie du Pont some five miles was a settlement called Grand Risseau, and between Grand Risseau and Prairie du Pont were mounds known as Indian tombs. Before 1800 there were block houses near each of these villages.

William Whiteside, a Revolutionary soldier, native of North Carolina, came to Illinois in 1793. He was accompanied by John Whiteside, a brother, who also was a Revolutionary soldier. Each had a son, respectively William and Samuel, who were captains in the War of 1812. These people, with others, established themselves at a place about four miles north of the present city of Waterloo. They built a fort and the place came to be known as Whiteside Station. This came to be known far and wide. William Whiteside was accused of murdering an Indian, but the grand jury refused to indict him because they said it was justified.

The first Methodist Church in Illinois was founded at New Design by the Rev. Joseph Lillard in 1793.

John Rice Jones was the first lawyer in the Illinois Territory. He was born in Wales, educated in Oxford in medicine and law. Practiced law in London, came to Philadelphia in 1784, was at Louisville in 1786, went with Clark against the Indians, took up his residence at Vincennes where he was in the employ of the Government. Lived at Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and St. Louis. He was a successful lawyer, acquired vast areas of land, died in St. Louis 1824.

William Morrison was a pioneer merchant who came to Kaskaskia from Philadelphia in 1790. He was agent for the firm of Bryant and Morrison, Philadelphia. He was the founder of a large family of highly valued citizens who were prominent in public affairs in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The red savages attacked the American settlers in 1786 and killed James Andrews, his wife and his daughter. In 1788 John Vallis was killed and William Biggs was captured by the Ottawas, but later released. In the same year Samuel Garrison and William Reddick were killed and scalped. In 1789 four more Americans were killed by the savages.

Blockhouses and forts were constructed by the settlers for protection against the Indians. These defenses were often constructed in this wise: Four log houses would be erected, one at each of four corners of a rectangle. The space between two

corner houses on the same side would be filled by a palisade of logs set endwise in the ground. The enclosed space would often cover as much as an acre of ground. In cases of great danger the settlers took their personal belongings including their live stock inside these forts where they remained till the danger had passed. The grounds about these forts were generally cleared trees and underbrush to remove shelter for the approaching Indians.

Gen. John Edgar, a native of Ireland, and an officer in the British navy in the Revolutionary war, came to Kaskaskia in the year 1784. He married a high minded American woman who urged him to desert a losing cause. He was a friend of La Fayette and served with him a short time. He acquired quite a fortune in lands and is said to have owned as many as 50,000 acres in Southern Illinois. Mr. and Mrs. Edgar lived in a beautifully furnished old mansion in Kaskaskia and set the pace for the social life of the largest city west of the Wabash.

Falling Springs is a very noted place which prior to 1800, was the seat of a mill for the grinding of grain. It is some three or four miles southeast of old Cahokia. The water gushes from a crevice in the bluff some fifty or sixty feet above the alluvial plain and in rainy weather the flow from the spring is reinforced by the drainage of the hills and the falls become a young Niagara. When the old mill was in use the water was carried from the descending current through a hollow log to the water wheel.

The first water-mill that was erected in the north end of the American Bottom was built on the Prairie du Pont Creek which flows out of the bluffs southeast of Cahokia and finds its way across the Bottom and empties into the Mississippi just below East Carondalet. This was built by the members of the St. Sulpice mission which was a vigorous organization at Cahokia. The village of Prairie du Pont grew up about this mill.

James Piggot, John Doyle, Robert Whitehead, and a Mr. Bowen were soldiers with Colonel Clark in 1778. After the Revolutionary war was over they came to Kaskaskia to settle. Governor Reynolds says Doyle was well versed in Indian and French and frequently acted as interpreter. He taught school.

One of the most interesting ruins in the region of Kaskaskia is what is known as the Old Riley Mill. This ruin is up the river somewhat from a point opposite the site of Old Kaskaskia. The bluffs are somewhat broken and through an opening in them a small stream emerges. If one will follow an old road which winds its way up this stream he will eventually come to a strange stone structure much like an old bake oven, but considerably larger. There are no placards indicating its use, and the visitor may make his own interpretation. Following the winding road a few hundred feet further and you come to the ruins of what was once a very large and completely equipped grist mill. Pass

the old ruins and go a few hundred yards further up the stream and you are in the presence of a lake of moderate dimensions called Riley's Lake. The lake is several feet above the mill seat and the water if properly controlled would accumulate considerable headway before reaching the mill.

There have been three distinct periods in the life of the mill. Pax Paget (Prix Pagi) built a mill here as early as 1722. Whether he made use of the lake for a headway is not known. It was the closest mill to the village of Kaskaskia and without doubt did a flourishing business. It is tradition that the mill ground the flour with which the French troops at Fort Du Quesne were supplied in the French and Indian war. Shortly after this war, the Kickapoos, while on the war path came to this mill. They murdered Pax Paget and his negro slaves, mutilated their bodies and threw them into the grain hopper.

General John Edgar came into possession of the mill, greatly enlarged it by building a stone basement, and on this stone foundation erected a substantial wooden building. He conducted it as a successful business till near the date of his death, 1832. Later a Mr. Daniel Riley operated the mill till about 1855. After this the mill seems to have gone into decay. When the writer visited the ruins some few years ago the great frame work had given way and was lying in ruins here and there. Many of the beams and sills of oak twenty or more feet long and ten inches square, seemed as sound as they were the day they were put into the building. The great burstones, without doubt brought from France, were lying among the rubbish.

CHAPTER XIX

ILLINOIS * * * TERRITORY OF FIRST CLASS

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS—THE LEGISLATIVE BODY—A NEW METHOD—TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS—CENTERS OF POPULATION—INDIAN BARBARITIES—BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE—FORTS AND BLOCKHOUSES.

Not since the days of Col. John Todd had real government come so close to the people of Illinois as appeared when the secretary of the Illinois Territory arrived at Kaskaskia and began to name officials who should carry out the laws which should be adopted when the legislative body should assemble.

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS

Nathaniel Pope, who had been named by President Madison as secretary of the newly created Territory, arrived at Kaskaskia on April 28, 1809. He immediately issued his proclamation establishing the Territorial Government. He reestablished the counties of St. Clair and Randolph, giving them definite boundaries. He appointed John Hays sheriff of St. Clair county and Benjamin Stephenson sheriff of Randolph County. Other officers were appointed including coroners, clerks, and justices of the peace.

Nathaniel Pope was a brother of John Pope, a United States Senator from Kentucky, and later governor of Arkansas Territory. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, 1784. He received a classical education in Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky, and later at St. Genevieve, Missouri; he became very prominent as a French scholar. He was named as secretary and assumed the duties of that office at the age of twenty-five years.

Ninian Edwards was born in Maryland in 1775 and as a young boy had the celebrated William Wirt as tutor. He afterwards graduated from Dickinson College. At the age of nineteen he came into Kentucky where he found friends in Henry Clay and John Pope. He studied law and rose rapidly in his profession. He was at the time of his appointment as governor of Illinois Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals in Kentucky. "The Edwards Papers," a large collection of letters written to or by him, show his intimate relations with the great men of his day. Also "Life and Times of Ninian Edwards" reveals his acquaintance with public men of great prominence.

Governor Edwards was recommended to President Madison by Judge Boyle of Kentucky, Henry Clay, and others. He arrived at Kaskaskia June 11, 1809. He took the oath of office and entered upon its duties. The people of Kaskaskia and Cahokia who had favored division formulated a very courteous and reassuring address which was read to him at the inaugural ceremonies. This address as has been said was presented by those who favored division, and it was difficult for them to keep this fact from showing in their public address. The governor replied to the address in guarded language; yet he was bold to say that his only motives would be those of one who looked upon office as a public trust. He promised that in appointments to office he should allow no system of favoritism to dictate selections. He declared a partisan, he would not be. He referred to the hard fight which the people had gone through in securing the separation of Illinois from Indiana, and said he deplored these contentions as much as any man. "To promote the happiness of the people and the prosperity of this country will always engage my most earnest exertions."

The three judges originally appointed were Jesse B. Thomas, Alexander Stuart, and Obadia Jones. Judge Stuart being transferred to Missouri, Stanley Griswold was appointed in his stead.

As an inducement to men of rank and ambition to accept office in this wild country, the Government provided that the governor should have 1,000 acres of land and each judge should have 500 acres to be selected by the officials wherever they wished to live. Nathaniel Pope located in Kaskaskia. Governor Edwards selected his land near Prairie du Rocher, as did also Jesse B. Thomas. The governor brought slaves and herds of live stock to his home which he called "Elvirade" in honor of his wife whose name was Elvira. He of course spent much of his time at Kaskaskia and at the Salines near Equality. A law was passed by Congress providing that the secretary of the treasury should have charge of the United States salines. The secretary, Mr. Gallatin, appointed Governor Edwards superintendent of the salines in Illinois. He was authorized to make all contracts and all rules and regulations governing the leasing of the salt works. Details about the salines will begin in a succeeding chapter.

The Legislative Body

The first legislative session of the governor, and judges was held June 16, 1809. Judge Thomas had not yet arrived because of his duties as delegate from the Indiana Territory in the Congress at Washington. The governor and Judges Sprigg and Stuart, therefore made up the legislative body. It was the policy of this legislative body to introduce no new laws. The laws of the Indiana Territory, while it was a territory of the first and

the second class, were adopted. Governor Edwards was somewhat embarrassed in starting the new government for there were still very bitter feelings remaining, over the fight for and against the division of the territory. Those people who had favored the division felt that those who had opposed division should not be appointed to office in the new government. This situation threatened to become troublesome especially in the organization of the militia.

A New Method

Governor Edwards struck upon a happy alternative in the matter of making appointments to office. He issued an order that each company of militia should elect its own officers by popular vote. Then these officers should elect the higher officers of the military organization. The plan he thought ought to result in the selection of good men, and by it also there ought to be no hard feelings as each man who was a candidate for a position must stand or fall upon his own merits. Governor Edwards also introduced popular elections as the method of choosing civil officers in the counties. It should be remembered that the secretary, Nathaniel Pope, had made quite a few appointments to office before the governor arrived. These persons were not disturbed in the positions to which they had been appointed. Governor Edwards left his work in Kentucky on rather short notice and he was obliged to return to that state to adjust some matters which others could not attend to. When he returned he took up the matter of elections referred to above.

Treaties With the Indians

Governor Harrison had been very active in making treaties with the Indians. In all these treaties there were cessions of lands to the United States. General Wayne had made the famous Greenville treaty in August, 1795, with eleven distinct tribes living in the Northwest Territory. In addition to this general treaty with these eleven tribes, Governor Harrison had made six distinct treaties with smaller groups of the same Indians between 1803 and 1809. In these seven treaties more than 40,000,000 acres of land had been ceded to the United States, most if not all, lying within the limits of the Northwest Territory. These treaties had cost the Government more than one and a quarter million of dollars. Tecumseh claimed that all the Indians in Indiana and Illinois were federated and therefore treaties were not binding unless all the federated tribes should agree to the terms of the treaty. In September, 1809, General Harrison made a treaty at Fort Wayne, Indiana, with the Delawares, Pottawattomies, Miamis, Kickapoos, Waas and Eel River Indians. In this treaty a very large tract of land was ceded to the United States, comprising about 3,000,000 acres in Western Indiana,

lying east of the Wabash and including some of the territory claimed by Tecumseh as his hunting ground. His tribe, the Shawnees, did not participate in this treaty and Tecumseh denounced it as an unjust and illegal agreement. He immediately began planning vengeance on the whites. There had been very great dissatisfaction among the natives since the first of the treaties in 1803. The Indians believed that their lands had been bartered away and that they saw themselves fast losing their once productive hunting grounds. Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet, began to fan the smoldering embers of dissatisfaction and revolt.

Tecumseh was a man of extraordinary parts. His father was a Shawnee and his mother was an Ottawa woman. He possessed the confidence of the Indians of the Northwest and was not unknown as a great warrior in distant parts of the country. His brother, the prophet, was a man of some education and was greatly under the influence of the British in Canada. Tecumseh was a crafty statesman. He planned to organize the Indians into a great confederacy whose purpose should be to make war upon the whites and if possible drive them back over the Alleghany Mountains.

The relations between the United States and Great Britain were strained and war had been imminent for the past four or five years. The nation was divided over the justification of war and the President and his friends hesitated to enter into war since they knew there was sectional opposition, but the conditions were unbearable and war was finally declared.

Centers of Population

The infant territory of Illinois was in great danger in case war should come. There were, as previously stated, about 12,000 people within the limits of the Territory, but they were greatly scattered. The towns of Kaskaskia, Prairie Du Rocher, Cahokia were the only places of any size. Other centers of population were more on the order of neighborhoods than towns. Shawneetown had a couple dozen houses and probably as many as sixty or seventy-five inhabitants. The salt works near the present site of Equality was an industrial center. There were four or five hundred people in this locality, many, maybe half, were free negroes or indentured slaves. The place fluctuated as to population. There were well defined routes of travel from the various centers of population in Kentucky to the United States salines, and these all centered at Shawneetown where there was a ferry as early as 1801. This gave Shawneetown prominence. There was also a considerable camp of the Shawnee Indians near the town and this gave rise to some traffic at that place.

Golconda in Pope County was another crossing place on the

Ohio River and this naturally became a settlement in a very early day. As early as the coming of George Rogers Clark, there was a well known trail from Golconda to Kaskaskia. And in 1800 when Governor Reynolds came from Tennessee to Illinois he crossed the Ohio at Golconda. He was then a lad of eleven years and he says the trail was marked out by blazing trees and then burning on the blazed surface, with hot iron, the number of miles it was from Golconda and to Kaskaskia. At old Fort Massac there were United States troops and in the vicinity there were quite a few settlers. In what is now Johnson County there were settlers in the western part of the county. The county was organized in September, 1812, and the county seat was fixed at the home of John Bradshaw, six miles northwest of the present city of Vienna. The place was called Elvira, probably in honor of the wife of Governor Edwards. This was only a short mile west of the trail taken by George Rogers Clark from Indian Point to Phelps Prairie. There were quite a few families about Elvira at the breaking out of Indian hostilities in 1811.

Another center of settlement was at the present site of Mound City. This settlement was some five or six miles above Cairo on the Ohio River. There were four or five families there in 1810. Due north of the present Mound City there was a village called Wilkinsonville. The old maps give it, but its name must have been changed as it appears to have been about where Wetaug is today. At the most northerly bend of the Ohio at the most easterly part of Pulaski County near the river was a fort in 1811 called Post Wilkins. On the Mississippi below the present town of Thebes were several settlers. There were six grants of land there supposed to have been made by the Spanish government at the close of the French and Indian war. The author talked to the Rev. Samuel Westbrook, who died in Eldorado, Illinois, a few years ago at a very advanced age, about the War of 1812. He said he was three years old and that his parents lived not far from Goose Island, which lies opposite the Spanish grants. His father had told him that the neighbors were able to keep on the good side of the Indians in that region.

In 1804 seven brothers by the name of Jordan, John and William Browning, Joseph Estes, and a Mr. Barbrey, came from Smith County, Tennessee, and settled near the line between Williamson and Franklin counties. It was known as the Jordan Settlement. (Sometimes spelled Jourdan.) Thirty miles north of the Jordan settlement there were two prairies called Moore's Prairie and Jordan's Prairie. There were settlements in these prairies. Williamson County had settlers in Phelps Prairie west of Marion, in 1811. Settlers were scattered along the Big Muddy in the northwest part of Williamson County.

White settlers were in Jackson County as early as 1802. Two families, Reed and Jones, came from about Kaskaskia and settled

on Reed's Creek, in the extreme western part of Jackson County. In 1805 William Boone settled at the mouth of Degognia Creek which separates Jackson from Randolph. Quite a settlement grew up here. By 1811 there were settlements all along the Big Muddy in Jackson County. A ferry was established on the Mississippi at the Devil's Backbone in 1805. It was owned and managed by Col. James Gill, who came from South Carolina.

The New Design settlements had grown in numbers, and in 1811 had spread to surrounding territory. The settlements along the Bottoms from Prairie du Rocher to Cahokia had increased, and so had the settlements in the region east of Cahokia in St. Clair County.

AN OLD-TIME RESIDENCE NEAR PINCKNEYVILLE, BUILT IN 1808

There was an important neighborhood of hardy settlers about eight miles north and a little east of Belleville, known as the Ridge Prairie settlement. Just a few miles west of north of the present city of Belleville there was another settlement known as the Badgeley's Settlement. Then just south and a little east there was a settlement where in after years a Mr. Stookey lived. These settlements were well peopled by 1811. The site of the present city of Belleville was not laid out till 1814. The settlement called Goshen was just under the bluffs some four and a half or five miles south and a little west of Edwardsville. The region was explored as early as 1799 by the Rev. David Badgley and others, and called Goshen on account of the richness of the soil and the great abundance and luxuriance of the vegetation. The settlement which afterwards was called Goshen was made

by one Ephriam Conner in 1800. In 1801 Colonel Samuel Judy purchased Conner's interests and lived there many years before his death. Colonel Judy's father, Jacob, was a pioneer, a native of Switzerland, who migrated to the United States about the time of the Revolutionary war. He moved from Maryland to Louisville, Kentucky, thence to Kaskaskia, thence to New Design, and thence to Madison, where he died in 1807. The Goshen settlement never took on the form of a town, but it was an important social and religious center. A company of hardy pioneers who had settled in other neighborhoods farther south, came to the Goshen settlement in 1802 and another group in 1803. By 1811 this Goshen settlement was scattered for several miles around the original center. There were enough people to furnish a company in the War of 1812.

East of Edwardsville in Shoal Creek there were settlements in the vicinity of Greenville. The Indians were greatly feared in this region and two forts were erected which will be located later. Scattering settlements were to be found about Alton and around the mouth of the Illinois River. No more settlements were to be found toward the north till Peoria was reached. To the east of Peoria were the Indian villages of the Kickapoos. There were a few scattering settlers along the Mississippi in the vicinity of the present city of Warsaw. Near Vincennes on the Illinois side of the Wabash, Americans had built homes before the beginning of the nineteenth century. In fact all along the Wabash from Vincennes to Shawneetown the country was sparsely occupied.

The great middle portion of the state was unoccupied by white people. In the northwest part of the state in the vicinity of the lead mines there were quite a few people engaged in the mining of lead. There were two or three houses in Chicago in 1811, besides those occupied by the United States troops stationed in old Fort Dearborn. White people were to be found also in the region of Prairie du Chein.

Indian Barbarities

To show how the Indians produced the greatest consternation in these settlements wherever they appeared, let us enumerate some of the cruel butcheries of the Indians in the various parts of the Illinois Territory up to the early stages of the War of 1812. In July, 1810, a band of Pottawattomies returning from Western Missouri, stole property from citizens living on the Missouri River toward its mouth. The whites pursued them and when near the mouth of the Illinois were attacked by the Indians who killed four of the whites. The Pottawattomies lived in Illinois Territory and the governor of Missouri made a demand on Governor Edwards for the arrest and punishment of the In-

dians. Governor Edwards made demands upon Gomo, chief of the Pottawattomies, and a long and fruitless diplomatic intercourse ensued. In this intercourse it developed that the Indians were being urged to commit depredations upon the whites in Indiana and Illinois, and that the British were furnishing arms and ammunition.

On June 2, 1811, the Indians murdered a young man by the name of Cox whose parents lived on Shoal Creek in Bond County. His sister was carried away into captivity but later made her escape though badly wounded.

On the 20th of June a Mr. Price was treacherously slain near the present site of Alton. He was a relative of the Whitesides. One Indian approached him, laid down his gun and offered to shake hands. Price thinking the Indian was friendly took his hand. The Indian held him firmly while other Indians brutally attacked and killed him.

Other murders occurred in the region about Belleville, Edwardsville, and Greenville. It appeared that in all these murders the bodies of the whites were horribly mutilated. A large mass-meeting was held in St. Clair County and resolutions were formulated and forwarded to the governor and to the President of the United States.

In the summer and fall of 1811, there were many speeches exchanged between Governor Edwards and the Indians. But murders were reported from the vicinity of Fort Madison. Later during the war two whole families were butchered near the present city of Mound City. Four whites were slain in what is now Washington County in the summer of 1813. In 1812 Andrew Moore and his son were killed in the vicinity of Mount Vernon. Barbara Jourdan was killed at Jourdan's Fort in 1812.

In the vicinity of Wood River near Alton, Mrs. Reagan and six children were murdered in the early part of 1814. Near the Village of Aveston near the Jourdan Fort, murders were committed in the early part of this ante-war period.

It has been previously explained that Tecumseh had organized all the Indians in the Northwest into a confederation, and set up the theory that one tribe could not alienate any of its lands without the consent of the council of headmen from all the tribes. In 1809, General Harrison entered into a treaty with the Kickapoos in which treaty the Kickapoos ceded 38,000 acres to the general Government. Tecumseh argued that this was an illegal cession and demanded of Governor Harrison that he secure its recession. There were serious clashes between the Indians and the whites in Western Indiana.

In October, 1811, Governor Harrison was constructing a small fort where Terre Haute stands. One of the guards was murdered by Indians. Governor Harrison looked upon this and other warlike acts as a sufficient cause for war.

Battle of Tippecanoe

In 1808 Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, built a village on the Tippecanoe River toward its mouth. Here he made headquarters and secured the confederation previously spoken of. After the Kickapoo cession, Tecumseh was very busy visiting the Indians in the Northwest and inciting them to open war against the whites. At the same time the British along the lakes were very active urging the Indians to unite to oppose the further encroachments of the Americans.

In the summer of 1811 Tecumseh took twelve of his most trusty warriors and went south to secure the assistance of the Indians in the region south of the Tennessee. Tecumseh passed through the portion of Williamson County where Marion, the county seat, is now located. He went south along the trail through Phelps Prairie where he met John Phelps after whom the prairie was named. Phelps talked to Tecumseh and afterwards told the early settlers of his interview with the great chieftain. Tecumseh did not return to the region of the Wabash till after the battle of the Tippecanoe.

In the fall of 1811, Governor Harrison raised an army of 800 whites and about 500 Indians. The whites came chiefly from Indiana and Kentucky. There were no military organizations from Illinois, but there were several citizens of Illinois in the expedition to the Tippecanoe country headed by Governor Harrison. Among those from Illinois was Col. Isaac White, who was government agent at the United States salines near Equality. Colonel White was a friend of Governor Harrison and accompanied him to the battle. He was unfortunately killed in the battle.

It is probable that Governor Harrison hoped to evade a contest of arms when he went north with his army. When he reached the vicinity of the camps of the Indians, he sent forward word that he should be glad to confer with a representative of the chief. A conference was held and Harrison was told that on the morrow further steps would be taken to establish permanent friendship between the whites and the Indians. That night Harrison's men slept with their loaded guns at their sides. About 4 o'clock the whites were aroused by a furious onslaught upon them. It was exceedingly fortunate that Harrison had taken the precaution to have his men sleep upon their arms. The conflict raged into the early morning, and resulted in a victory for the whites. The Prophet was at a safe distance from the battle on a hill overlooking the battlefield. He engaged in all forms of mysterious incantations. When told that the bullets of the whites were killing his braves, he told them to continue the contest as it would soon change. The actual leaders of the battle were chiefs of the tribes who had gathered at this point in

answer to the call of Tecumseh and his brother. The names of three of these chiefs were—White Coon, Stone Eater, and Winnemac.

The losses were large for so short a time. The Americans lost, killed in action, thirty-five; died from wounds, twenty-five; wounded, 128. The Indians left thirty-eight dead on the battlefield. The town was burned, crops destroyed, and the place rendered unfit for a capital of the confederation. When Tecumseh returned from the south he was much cast down upon realizing the extent of the crushing blow which Governor Harrison had dealt his warriors. Tecumseh proceeded to Canada where he joined the British in the war which was then just beginning between Great Britain and the United States.

The victory which General Harrison won over the Indians in the Battle of Tippecanoe, marked him as a great commander in border warfare. In this battle he commanded 250 United States regulars, some 600 or 700 militiamen, and a few hundred Indians. He returned to Vincennes and made his report to the President of the United Etates.

Forts and Blockhouses

We have digressed from the story of Illinois to recount the incidents of the battle of Tippecanoe, for the purpose of emphasizing the conditions which Illinois must face in a year or so. From the standpoint of the United States Government, the problem in the Northwest was the same everywhere regardless of the boundary line of states.

Governor Edwards was commissioned as governor of the Territory of Illinois on April 24, 1809. He arrived at Kaskaskia on June 11, 1809. The first task was the organization of the civil machinery for the preservation of life and the protection of property. There had been bitter feelings and one death over the separation of Illinois from Indiana. There was rivalry between the factions which had taken part in the separation fight, over the appointments which the governor was authorized to make. This bad spirit the new chief executive wished to pacify. He frankly told them he would favor no factions. In taking a strong stand for harmony he won the respect and support of all factions. But he was in office only a few months when the war clouds began to gather. Bands of Indians began to roam over the country and became an evil omen to the quiet pioneers everywhere. The governor early put the proper interpretation into the darkening clouds. He secured some help from the general Government, but relied largely upon the resources of the territory. There was one simple thing that could be done everywhere—that was to construct substantial defenses—forts and blockhouses.

The blockhouses of the War of 1812 did not differ from the blockhouses which the colonists erected in New England and the middle sections of the old thirteen colonies. It was usually a square log house reaching some eight or nine feet to the second story. This second story was built so as to project over the first story three or four feet. The second story was usually low, possibly not more than five feet high around the sides of the building. It was covered with clapboards. A strong oak door with crude pioneer lock would withstand the attacks of strong hands from without. Portholes were arranged and the fort provided with supplies of food and ammunition. The problem of securing water for those within the fort, or blockhouse, was sometimes difficult of solution. In most cases the timber or at least the underbrush was cleared away for a considerable distance on all sides of the blockhouse. This would prevent the Indians from coming too close, and also gave an unobstructed view from the defense in all directions.

One form of fort consisted in erecting at each of the four corners of a square, a blockhouse similar to the one described above, and then building a palisade some twelve feet high in the four spaces reaching from one house to another. The area enclosed with often quite large, and there were frequently sheds or other shelters within the enclosure.

The blockhouses were often used as homes but the palisaded forts were used only in emergencies. The larger structures were built by the neighborhood and in case of real danger, the whole people moved in taking the stock and other belongings. The author well remembers listening to the recital of the harrowing days of 1812 by an old lady, Mrs. Medusa Piper, who lived near Kaskaskia, and who said she had many times sought safety within the blockhouse or the palisade.

No maps in the histories which have previously been published show all the "forts" as they were usually called. As the country was settled up these structures were torn down or used for other purposes and the place where they stood is actually forgotten. Of course the site of old Fort Dearborn was marked by the buildings themselves till late in the last century. It was first built in 1803 and was very noted by 1812. It was a palisade with a sort of blockhouse at one corner and with barracks, and officers' quarters within. It stood on the south side of the Chicago River a few hundred yards from its mouth.

The site of old Fort Massac has been preserved. This fort was on the Ohio River one mile above the City of Metropolis, the county seat of Massac County. It was an earth embankment of rectangular form enclosing probably one-fourth of an acre. At the four corners of the fort bastions were constructed after the form common among the French in the early days in the New World. There may have been a palisade erected on

the earth work as without it the earth walls could have been easily scaled. The old earth walls and bastions are well preserved and the state has purchased more than a hundred acres upon which it has erected a keeper's home. The Daughters of the American Revolution were instrumental in preserving the grounds and fort, and in erecting a monument in side the fort outline.

Old Fort Chartres was of no value in the War of 1812, as it had been abandoned in 1772 and was overgrown with trees, underbrush, and vines. The southwest wall had been undermined by the river, and the whole situation was one of desolation. It was four miles northwest of the present village of Prairie du Rocher, in Randolph County. Fort Russell was a wooden structure built by Governor Edwards about one and a half miles northwest of Edwardsville. It has been difficult to get a description from anyone in that vicinity and difficult to find a written description. Two or more cannons were brought to Fort Russell from the ruins of Fort Chartres, and were later the playthings of the young boys in that neighborhood. It is reported that a junk dealer passed one day and offered to buy one of the cannons from the boys. They agreed on a price and the junk dealer carried away a precious relic of the days of Louis XIV.

Then there was Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock. This fort was abandoned in 1700 by Tonti, and it is doubtful whether it was occupied in the early days of the eighteenth century, at least in a military way. The settlements at the foot of the rock were flourishing in the early part of that century, but in 1718 the fort proper was burned and the place was evidently no longer used for military purposes.

The lower Wabash was guarded in the War of 1812 by as many as five temporary forts and blockhouses. One known as Fort La Motte was located in what is now Crawford County, a little south of east of Robinson, the county seat, near the Wabash River. It was built in 1813. South of Fort La Motte was a blockhouse, or fort, in the northern edge of Lawrence County. Fort Sackville was of course east of the Wabash, at Vincennes, but it too served as protection to Illinois. It was built there by the French in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was the famous fort captured by George Rogers Clark in 1778. Just north of Vincennes was Fort Knox built in 1788. This fort was also in the Indiana Territory.

Lower down on the Wabash River, and in the territory adjacent thereto was Skillet Fork Fort. This was in White County and was in the forks of the Little Wabash and Skillet Fork Creek, a few miles north of Carmi. Further south, in Saline County was a fort whose ruins impress the traveler of today. It is a few miles east of the village of Stone Fort on the Big

Four Railroad. This fort was discovered by the surveyors who laid off Illinois into townships, and back of this we so far know nothing of the fort. Mr. A. L. Kelley of the village of Stone Fort is having the Spanish Archives at Seville, Spain, searched for the origin of this fort on the theory that it is of Spanish origin. It was constructed of broken stones of considerable size, and enclosed probably one-eighth of an acre. The walls were about eight feet high and were well built. The stones were brought from the valley below to the top of a bluff some sixty-five feet above the valley. The walls are somewhat dilapidated—people having rolled the stones down the bluff for amusement. This fort, known as Stone Fort, was probably used or held ready for use in the days of the war. It is on the old Indian trail from Golconda to Kaskaskia.

There were no defenses about Shawneetown which at this time was a village of some twenty or more cabins together with two brick buildings. Other blockhouses were built in what is now Hardin and Pope, but their location cannot be established. On the big bend of the Ohio in the eastern part of Pulaski County was a fort called Post Wilkins which was built about the year 1800.

But it was in the present vicinity of Williamson and Franklin counties that fort building was carried on with the greatest interest. In 1804 seven Jordan brothers settled in Franklin County. One of them a short time afterwards moved south a few miles which brought him within the present County of Williamson. Here he built a fort by erecting a strong stockade enclosing an acre of ground. Inside the stockade were several cabins and a well. This fort appears just on the line between Franklin and Williamson. Another fort was built south a few miles of the city of Benton, the present county seat of Franklin County. This second fort was known as Frankfort and eventually grew into the thriving city of that name today. On the Big Muddy, in the extreme northwestern corner of Williamson County, there was a blockhouse built by the early settlers. Herrin's Prairie was settled in 1811 but it is said the Indians were so threatening that the first settler, one Hibbins, was obliged to seek safety where there were more settlers. In 1802 the Shawnees and Kaskaskias fought a desperate battle near the Big Muddy and the blockhouse was afterwards built near if not on the battlefield. Ruffin Harrison, now deceased, who lived in Herrin said he remembered the blockhouse well. Another fort was built in the edge of Phelps Prairie south and west of Marion, the date is fixed at 1811. There were no blockhouses or forts in Union and Jackson; but in what is now Randolph and Monroe counties there were several defenses constructed. Probably old Fort Gage was not in use at this time. The buildings of that fort were burned, so Captain Pittman says, in October,

1766, and there is no information which would justify our saying that the fort was ever rebuilt. The old earthworks are very much like those at Fort Massac. The dimensions being about 300 by 250 feet. Between Kaskaskia and Old Cahokia there were several defenses constructed.

The New Design and Bellefontaine were protected by a fort from the earliest times. These settlements were just south of Waterloo, and were begun as early as 1786. On Fountaine Creek in the American Bottom there was a fort. This was built as early as 1790. There was a fort known as Piggott's Fort a short distance south of Cahokia. Whiteside's Station was a fortified home which was built by William Whiteside, some miles north of Waterloo. On Silver Creek east of the present East St. Louis there was what was called Chambers Fort. It was not far from Lebanon on the edge of Looking Glass Prairie. Jones Fort and Hill's Fort were on Shoal Creek east of Edwardsville. In Clinton County there was a blockhouse near Carlyle; also one near Troy in Madison County. Governor Reynolds tells about building a fort on Wood River near Alton. A fort was constructed near the mouth of the Illinois River, and another was built about thirty miles above the mouth of the Illinois on the peninsula between the Illinois and the Mississippi. This was built by Maj. John Campbell of the United States Army while he was on a march toward the northwest portion of Illinois. Fort Edward and Fort Johnson were built in 1814. They were in Hancock County. Fort Clark was erected in 1813 on the present site of Peoria. Without doubt many other defenses were erected and served a good purpose whose history has not been recorded.

CHAPTER XX

THE WAR OF 1812

CAUSES OF THE WAR—LOSS OF DETROIT—THE RANGERS—THE FORT DEARBORN MASSACRE—THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGNS—CAPTAIN CRAIG AT PEORIA—THE GOVERNOR INVADES THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813—ATROCITIES CONTINUE—TREATIES.

War between two countries may often exist without a formal declaration. The people of the United States were in war with the subjects and allies of Great Britain for more than a year before a declaration of war was passed by the American Congress. While there may not have been any formal alliance between the Indians of the regions west of the Alleghanies and the British Government in Canada, there was to all intents and purposes an alliance which was as effective as ever existed between any two governments. The Indians and the British of Canada were, during the latter part of 1810 and through 1811, in open hostility toward the whites in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The declaration of war was not passed by Congress without a contest. As a party, the democrats were for the war, while the old federalist party was opposed. We are not particularly interested in the causes of the war only to discover what way the people of the Illinois Territory were involved in the causes and the results.

War was declared in June, 1812. The President sent a war message to the Congress on June 1, 1812. In this message he reviewed the relations between the United States and Great Britain and summed up the causes of war.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

The President showed that the following policies which Great Britain had sustained toward the United States constituted a sufficient cause of war.

1. The impressment of American seamen.
2. Patroling of our Atlantic Coast with armed vessels to prevent our merchantmen from enjoying the freedom of the sea.
3. Interfering with our commerce on the high seas.
4. Encouraging the Indians to attack our settlers on the western frontier; for furnishing these savages with guns, ammunition, and other supplies.

The President's message was carefully considered in Congress behind closed doors and when the final vote was taken on the resolution declaring war, in the House it stood: for, 79 against, 49. In the Senate the vote stood: for, 19; against, 13. It passed the Senate on the 17th of June, 1812, and the President signed it the same day, and two days later, June 19, 1812, the President issued his declaration of war. The resolution was as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions, or letters of marque, and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof."

It has been intimated that a state of war existed in the regions northwest of the Ohio for more than a year prior to the above action taken by the Congress of the United States. The declaration of war was soon known in this western country and war was then entered into with renewed determination. It has already been shown that blockhouses and forts were built pretty generally over Southern Illinois. The governor had given encouragement to the organization of local companies of militia. These early military companies were not under the command of the governor, but were volunteer organizations. The line separating the settled from the unsettled parts of the state might be traced as follows: From the mouth of the Illinois River eastward through Alton, thence to Fort Russell, near Edwardsville, and from there northeast through the north side of Bond County. The line then dipped southeast to where Salem, Marion County, is, thence into Wayne County, thence northeast through Richland and Lawrence, through Crawford and Clark counties to the Indiana line. Nearly all the 12,000 whites lived south of this line and the Indians held high carnival north of this line.

Loss of Detroit

When war was declared, there were ten regiments in the United States military establishment, but the actual number of men was less than 5,000. A large part of these were stationed in the West in various forts not to exceed a hundred men in some of them. The strategic position in the West was Detroit at the west end of Lake Erie. Gen. William Hull, a Revolutionary soldier was territorial governor of Michigan, and by

virtue of his experience and his position as governor was held responsible for the defense of Detroit. He commanded probably 1,000 men. He was ordered to cross Detroit River and capture Fort Malden and then to sweep up the peninsula and join other forces from Niagara and thus overrun Canada. He crossed into Canada and besieged Fort Malden, but gave up the siege and returned to Detroit. General Brock was hastening to prevent Hull's invasion of Canada and with an army of 1,000 he crossed the Detroit River above the city and ordered the surrender of the fort, the town of Detroit, and all of the Territory of Michigan. Hull complied August 16, 1812. Mackinaw was previously surrendered, July 17, and thus the whole of Michigan was lost and Indiana and Illinois were exposed.

General Hull justified his surrender on the ground that his supply of provisions were very limited; that Mackinaw had surrendered, and that the British forces from that direction would be free to attack him from the north. That there was no hope of relief from Niagara, and that if he should resist the siege and later be compelled to surrender, that his army and the 800 people of the town would appease the Indians with their lives.

The Rangers

In the summer of 1812 Congress passed a law creating a regiment of ten companies of rangers in the West. It was put in command of Col. William Russell, an Indian fighter from Kentucky. The several companies were to be made up of the hardy pioneers of the several localities where their services were most needed. Four companies were allotted to Illinois. These were organized under Captains Wm. B. Whiteside, James B. Moore, Jacob Short, and Samuel Whiteside. These rangers furnished their own horses, provision, equipment and served for $1 a day. Two companies were organized in Missouri, and four companies were to be organized in Kentucky. The regiment was to be known as the Seventeenth. Independent companies of rangers were also organized. Three or four companies were recruited on the Wabash and on the Ohio about Shawneetown. They were under Captains Willis Hargrave, Wm. McHenry, Nathaniel Journey, and Thomas Craig. Capt. Wm. Boone, an early settler on the Big Muddy River, organized a company in the present limits of Jackson County. A company was organized as early as 1809 in St. Clair County. Abram Clark was the captain. As the war proceeded the governor authorized the formation of additional companies. During the early part of the Indian troubles, local military forces were active in defense of Illinois; there were as many as three different regiments organized. At different times there were changes in the officers of the regiments and companies, and thus it appears from the rosters that there were more officers

than were needed for the three regiments. At one time Col. Michael Jones commanded the First Regiment; Col. William Whiteside commanded the Second Regiment; Col. Isaac White, the Third. After war was declared in the summer of 1812, the governor reorganized his military forces and there were four regiments. The earlier commissioned officers resigned and younger men were promoted, and new enlistments gave a new membership to the regiments and companies. The new organizations were maintained till the close of the war, but the individual make-up changed very greatly from time to time.

The Fort Dearborn Massacre

The reports of United States troops in the several stations in the Illinois Territory, including Vincennes and Fort Madison were as follows: Fort Massac, on the Ohio River, 36; Fort Madison, across the Mississippi from Nauvoo, 44; Vincennes and vicinity, 117; Fort Dearborn, 53. Total, 250. These regulars did little of the real task of defending the remotely settled parts of the country. That task was left to the militia companies and to the volunteer rangers.

General Hull surrendered Detroit on August 16, 1812. On the 7th of August, Captain Heald received an order from General Hull to evacuate Fort Dearborn and proceed to Fort Wayne. This information was soon noised abroad. The officers under Captain Heald as well as John Kinzie, the Government Indian agent, advised against abandoning Fort Dearborn, since General Hull had given Captain Heald discretion in the matter. The Indians were gathering about Fort Dearborn in large numbers and were hostile in their attitude. At the same time they were very persistent in taking liberties about the fort. The friendly Indian, Winnemac, who brought the order from General Hull, knew the hostile intentions of the Indians. He, John Kinzie, and Lieutenant Helm all advised against giving up the fort. But Captain Heald seemed to lack decision and for three or four days after receiving the order from General Hull halted between two opinions. The friendly Indian suggested that if it were Heald's intention to abandon the fort to do so at once and with all haste. But he argued that with the supply of provision and ammunition with which the fort was supplied that a siege of six months could be withstood.

When Mr. Kinzie and the officers in the fort say they could not prevail on Captain Heald to remain in the fort they withdrew their counsel and conferred only among themselves and awaited the fateful day. The soldiers became restless and insubordinate. The Indians soon became aware of the conditions at the fort. They gathered in larger numbers from the surrounding territory. Captain Heald was told that the friendly

relations which he thought obtained between the garrison and the Indians was reduced to the frailest ties. The good offices of John Kinzie and his family was all that stood between the Americans and their treacherous neighbors. It was pointed out that their retreat from the fort would be slow as he was determined to take certain provisions and then there were women and children to be provided for.

Word had been received by the Indians from Tecumseh that Michilimackinac had been surrendered to the British, that General Hull was retreating from Canada, and that without doubt he would be forced to surrender Detroit. They were advised to hold themselves under arms ready for any emergency.

On August 12, Captain Heald called a conference of the chiefs and prominent whites who were about the fort. It was the purpose to devise ways and means which would enable Captain Heald to conduct his garrison to Fort Wayne in safety. It has been stated that the subordinate officers did not attend as they did not want to share the responsibility for what might happen. On the contrary they remained at the fort and when the council had assembled, the officers and soldiers opened the port holes and ran into position the loaded cannon where they could be seen by the Indians at the council, and it is believed that this action on the part of those in the fort is the only thing that prevented a massacre while the council was in session. In this council Captain Heald revealed his determination to leave the fort. He promised the Indians present that he would leave the Government stores in the fort and that they might be divided among the Indians. There was also a quantity of stores in the Indian agency in charge of Mr. Kinzie, these, too, were promised the Indians. In return the Indians promised to give him an escort of friendly warriors to accompany him to Fort Wayne, Indiana.

There was within the fort a quantity of liquor, ammunition, and food. Mr. Kinzie was perfectly familiar with the Indian character. He knew a fatal mistake had been made, and that it was probably too late to remedy it. Captain Heald, after he had left the council and returned to the fort, seemed to realize the dilemma in which he now found himself. Here Captain Heald seemed to come to his senses and desired very much to undo some things he had done, but he had adopted a policy against the wise counsel of Mr. Kinzie and his own officers. However, the policy was to be reversed. It was decided that all liquor should be poured out, the guns broken to pieces and the powder thrown into the river, except what was to be taken with them on the march to Fort Wayne. A part of this changed program was carried out, that is the goods within the fort, and in the warehouse at the Kinzie home, were distributed among

the Indians. These goods consisted of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, paints, and other articles. There was no liquor, nor guns, nor powder, and the Indians were greatly disappointed.

The night following the distribution of the goods, the garrison was busy destroying the surplus guns, amunition, and the liquors. The Indians were very indignant and they hung about the fort and crawled in the grass and discovered what was going on. They even crawled along the edge of the Chicago River and drank the water which carried the whisky toward the lake. It has been thought that the chiefs among the Pottawattomies felt themselves strong enough to restrain their warriors from deeds of violence. But when they learned that the guns, powder and whisky had been destroyed, they expressed grave doubts as to their ability to longer hold their young men in check. Winnemac, who brought the order from General Hull to Captain Heald, was a Pottawattomie chief. He had kept from the Indians some news as to the situation in Michigan which he thought would render the warriors more unmanageable.

Another of the Pottawattomie chiefs was Black Partridge, who wore suspended from his neck a medal which had been given to him by President Madison for services rendered in maintaining friendly relations between the Indians and the whites in the Western territory. He saw that his people had murder in their hearts and he so reported to Captain Heald. This chief came to the fort and in an interview with Captain Heald said: "Father, I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given to me by the Americans, and I have long worn it in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I can not restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy."

On the 14th of August there arrived at the fort Captain William Wells with a force of thirty friendly Miamis. He had come in all haste from Fort Wayne when he heard that Fort Dearborn was in distress. Captain Wells was an uncle of Mrs. Heald, and an officer of marked distinction. The arrival of Captain Wells was hailed with a sigh of relief by the weary garrison. All through the day of the 14th preparations were in progress for the departure on the morning of the 15th. Each man was given twenty-five rounds of ammunition. The wagons were in readiness for the departure.

On the morning of the 15th of August the people were all astir making ready for the fateful march which by order of the commanding officer should begin at 9 o'clock. Mr. Kinzie, the Government Indian agent, had agreed to march with the soldiers, as he felt that he could be of service to the whites in case there might arise trouble along the way. Mrs. Kinzie, with her four young children, were to go by boat along the southerly bend of

Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph River. She was to be accompanied by a nurse, a clerk in Mr. Kinzie's office, two servants, the boatmen and two Indians who were to give protection to Mrs. Kinzie and her little company. Mr. Kinzie was told by a friendly Indian that he ought to accompany Mrs. Kinzie in the boat, as the garrison would be attacked by the Indian escort which was made up of 500 Pottawattomies. But Mr. Kinzie felt that his place was with the soldiers.

All was breathless expectation as at 9 o'clock Captain Wells, with his face blackened, at the head of a part of his Miami band rode forward. Next in line were twelve militiamen, followed by the regulars. Next came the wagons carrying the camp equipage, food, women, children, and the sick. Bringing up the rear were Miami Indians, Mrs. Heald, and Mrs. Helm. A few musicians played a dead march. The Indian escort was supposed to bring up the rear, but they moved to the right as they marched southward and were hidden from the garrison by sand hills. They had reached what is now Fourteenth Street, two blocks south of the Illinois Central Station, when Captain Wells, who was in front, discovered the savages to his right making ready to attack the little army. He rode back to the main body of soldiers and reported what he had observed. Captain Heald marched his men west 200 or 300 yards to the sand hills, where they came in view of the Indians. The Indians attacked them furiously. Captain Heald ordered his men to return the fire, whereupon the savages retreated, some to the north and some to the south. They then flanked the little army, and Captain Heald says that in fifteen minutes the savages had possession of the horses and wagons. The Miamis were so completely taken by surprise that they fled and rendered no assistance. Captain Heald, with his soldiers, took his stand on an elevation somewhat distant from the scene of the first attack, where he later surrendered. The Indians who flanked the soldiers then attacked the women, children, the sick, and the wounded. When the massacre was over there were twenty-six regulars, twelve militiamen, two women, twelve children, Ensign George Ronan, Dr. Isaac V. VanVoorhis and Capt. William Wells dead upon the field of carnage. Captain Heald, Lieutenant Helm, twenty-five regulars, and eleven women and children were taken prisoners. The prisoners were scattered among the different tribes. Many died of wounds, some actually starved and some were killed for various reasons and some lived through the great trial. The boat which contained Mrs. Kinzie was overtaken at the mouth of the Chicago River and brought back to the fort. Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie, with their family, were allowed to return to their home, across the Chicago River opposite the fort. Here Mrs. Captain Heald was ministered to, she having been severely wounded.

On the 16th of August the Indians set fire to the fort and soon afterwards scattered in different directions. Some of the prisoners were held for ransom and some were released. Captain and Mrs. Heald were taken to St. Joseph's River, where they were left with a sister of charity. From here they went to Mackinaw, thence to Buffalo. The bones of those killed at the massacre lay on the sandy beach some four years, when they were gathered up by some soldiers stationed at the new Fort Dearborn and buried close to the fort. The bones in later years were buried in a cemetery.

The details of this horrible tragedy have been written by Mrs. Helm, wife of Captain Helm. She was the stepdaughter of Mr. Kinzie. Mrs. Helm was in the thickest of the massacre. She was struck with a tomahawk and was severely wounded. She grappled with the Indian who struck her, but she was rescued by Black Partridge, who dragged her to the lake and immersed her in the water, allowing her face to remain exposed. By this she knew he wished to save her life. She was required to remain in the water till the conflict was over. She was then taken back to the Chicago River and in a measure ministered unto. Her story of the many incidents is too heart-rending to repeat.

The Illinois Campaigns

In the spring and early summer of 1812 Governor Edwards was very busy organizing his troops and gathering supplies preparatory to the campaigns which he later conducted through the central part of the state.

There seemed to be a troublesome nest of Indians and French gathered about the Peoria Lake. They were reported to be engaged in seditious conduct. The Indians occupied the territory east, and all along the Illinois River from Peoria toward Chicago. It was understood by Governor Edwards that many of the Indian raids were planned by the whites who lived in Peoria.

The governor gathered all his available militia forces at Camp Russell in the early fall of 1812, with the purpose of leading an expedition into the enemy's country on the upper Illinois River. The total number of troops gathered at Camp Russell was not to exceed 400. These included six companies of United States Rangers under the command of Col. William Russell of Kentucky. The volunteer troops were divided into two regiments, commanded by Col. Elias Rector and Col. Benjamin Stephenson. There were majors and captains to the number of ten or twelve. There were two or three independent units, one under Capt. Samuel Judy, consisting of twenty-one men recruited from the neighborhood of Goshen, near Edwardsville.

This expedition into Central Illinois was what might be called mounted infantry. Each soldier furnished his own horse, and was directed to prepare twenty days' rations which should be

packed on his horse. There were no wagons to be taken on the march. It was expected that the horses would secure their provender from the grasses of the prairies. The little army took up its line of march on the 18th of October, 1812.

Captain Craig at Peoria

Before the little army took up its departure from Camp Russell the governor detached Capt. Thomas E. Craig, of Shawneetown, from the main command and ordered him to take charge of two boats and proceed to Peoria, where he was to remain till the overland expedition reached that vicinity. One of the boats was well supplied with provisions, ammunition, guns and other military supplies. The other carried tools and implements for the construction of forts. There were enough men properly to guard the boats and even to take the initiative in case of necessity. Captain Craig was given considerable discretion as to the course he should pursue when he should reach Peoria.

Captain Craig landed at Peoria on the 5th of November, 1812, and left the place on the 9th. In his report to the governor, made December 10th, 1812, he describes somewhat in detail the incidents of this expedition. He claimed that the homes in the town were deserted. He took out of the homes some furniture and other things that pleased his fancy, and justified it because the whites were at war with the Indians, and the whites of Peoria were helping the Indians.

The morning of the 6th there appeared in the village Thomas Forsyth, a secret agent of the Government, whose employment as an agent was not known to the Indians. Captain Craig believed that Forsyth was the instigator of the opposition of the Peorians to the United States and to Illinois. Mr. Forsyth could not reveal his real attitude to Captain Craig, and was obliged to submit to arrest and to indignities at the hands of Captain Craig. Forsyth claimed the goods which Captain Craig had taken, and Captain Craig affirmed in his report that he gave up most of them. Captain Craig burned most of the village, including the fine home of Lecroix. He then forced the people who remained in the village on his boats and returned to near Alton. He visited Camp Russell and, not finding Governor Edwards, he left a letter for him as follows:

Camp Russell, Nov. 16, 1812.

Dear Sir: This comes to inform you that I arrived last evening from Peoria, and am at a loss to know what to do, as I have a number of the inhabitants of that place as prisoners with me, and a considerable quantity of property of different Sioux chiefs. I wish very much to see you or to hear from you as soon as possible. I am, dear sir,

Your most obdt.
Thos. E. Craig.

Governor Edwards.

Captain Craig discharged his prisoners on the east bank of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Missouri River. There were few if any settlers in that locality and these refugees suffered great hardships in reaching St. Louis, where they were cared for. There were about seventy-five of them—men, women, and children. Some of them were able to return to their homes before the spring of 1813, among them Mr. Forsyth, the Government secret agent. Captain Craig says in his report: "I burned down about half of the town of Peoria," and among the houses burned was a very fine house built by Lecroix. It was elegantly furnished, and from it, while burning, the soldiers under the direction of Captain Craig, took valuable articles which were brought back by Captain Craig.

The Governor Invades the Enemy's Country

It was stated above that Governor Edwards left Camp Russell on the 18th of October, 1812. An account of this expedition was written by Governor John Reynolds in 1855 and published in his history, "My Own Times." This account has been the source of most of the descriptions which have been written, and I shall give a free interpretation of the details as given by Governor Reynolds. In the fall of 1812 John Reynolds was a young man twenty-three years old. He had just returned from his law studies in Knoxville, Tennessee. He joined Captain Judy's spy company and accompanied the governor on his invasion of the Indian country. The army marched up into the present County of Macoupin and on north, crossing the Sangamon a few miles east of Springfield. Thence to Elkhart Grove and thence to a Pottawattomie village, which they found deserted. They burned the wigwams and proceeded to the village of the Black Partridge, on the Illinois River, at the upper end of Lake Peoria. They approached within five miles of the village and camped for the night. Governor Reynolds says in his account of this night that the soldiers were nervous, and that they slept with their loaded guns at their sides. The horses remained saddled, and tied very near the owners' places on the ground. They all thought of the possibility of the repetition of the battle of Tippecanoe.

On the morrow the army moved closer to the Indian village. They approached its immediate vicinity to find that the men, women, and children had just taken their departure. The militiamen fell upon the deserted village and soon wrecked the cabins. The fleeing savages were pursued and several of their number killed. The army did not remain long at this point. It was the general plan that General Hopkins, with 2,000 Kentuckians, was to join with Governer Edwards' expedition at Peoria Lake for an invasion of the more northern parts of the state. General Hopkins was a veteran of the Revolution and

had been sent to Vincennes to organize his army, most of the members of which were from Kentucky. This expedition left Vincennes early in October, 1812, and proceeded up the Wabash. When out from Vincennes a few days, the army rebelled against going further, and after conferences and voting, the army was headed back to Vincennes. Among the officers in this small army was Capt. Zachary Taylor.

When Governor Edwards could hear nothing of General Hopkins' army, he decided to stay no longer in the vicinity of Peoria Lake, and the army under the governor's command returned to Camp Russell, where they arrived the 1st of November, having been gone thirteen days. It appears from the account of Governor Reynolds that the militiamen were not mustered out, but were given leave of absence, and they returned to their homes.

The military campaigns in Illinois in the summer of 1812 were not very successful. The friends of the governor, in justifying his activities for this year, argued that the Indians were held in check and even severely punished. That the militia had had quite a lot of real experiences, that the loss to the Indians in the number killed, the villages burned, the crops destroyed, had been a sufficient punishment for their depredations in the years 1810 and 1811. Notwithstanding the severe treatment which the Indians received at the hands of the whites during the summer of 1812, they still continued to commit all kinds of horrid atrocities in the winter of 1812-13. It was reported that thirteen whites were killed in the early spring of 1813. While these whites were thus being sacrificed, the governor was planning extensive campaigns for the summer of 1813. It was the governor's policy to leave his people who remained with the "stuff" well protected. Looking to that end, he ordered all blockhouses and forts to be repaired and to be carefully guarded during the absence of the active military forces.

The military operations for the summer of 1813 were under the direction of General Benjamin Howard, a former governor of the Missouri Territory. Troops were assembled from Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and some from Kentucky. All the Illinois troops were organized in one regiment under the command of Col. Benjamin Stephenson. There were two majors, W. B. Whiteside and John Moredeck. Joseph Philips, Samuel Judy, Nathaniel Journey, and Samuel Whiteside were captains. The Illinois troops assembled at Camp Russell. The destination was Peoria. Gomo, the most active chief among the Illinois Indians, lived just above Peoria.

The Illinois troops were to co-operate with the Missouri troops. They were to unite somewhere near the present city of Quincy. The Missouri troops consisted of one regiment, commanded by Colonel McNair, afterwards governor of the State of Missouri. The two regiments after joining early in the fall marched over on the Illinois in the vicinity of Peoria. The

troops cut logs and built Fort Clark. The United States Regulars and the Indians had a small engagement near Peoria Lake before the command of General Howard arrived. In November the army was ordered back to their respective states. The Illinois troops arrived at Camp Russell on October 22, and were sent to their homes for the winter. There were many murders committed by the red savages in the spring of 1814.

Atrocities Continue

The military operations of 1814 differed from those of the two preceding summers. The success of the United States on Lake Erie, the recapture of Detroit, and the glorious victory of General Harrison in the battle of the Thames, in which Tecumseh was killed, all combined to drive the Indians further west, and they gathered in great numbers on the upper Mississippi. Their defeats and losses were humiliating, and with the encouragement of the British they nerved themselves to more savage butcheries than ever before. From the regions in the western part of Wisconsin, bands of the various tribes made their way to the thickly settled parts of Southern Illinois and committed all forms of crimes. One of the most regrettable of these crimes was the murder of a Mrs. Reagan and her six children on Wood River, east of Alton, in July, 1814. The savages were pursued into the Sangamon country, where the leader was killed. The Rangers rendered valuable service in protecting the settlements from greater danger.

The general in command in this western area, General Howard, was absent from his post in the summer of 1814, and leadership fell to Governor William Clark of St. Louis. He organized a flotilla of barges to carry an expedition by water from St. Louis to the center of the Indian camps about Prairie du Chien. This naval expedition left St. Louis about the first of May, 1814. There were five armed barges, carrying 200 soldiers. On the approach of the armed barges, the Indians scattered and their camps were occupied about Prairie du Chien by the soldiers. A fort was built and named Fort Shelby. Governor Clark returned to St. Louis and while he was away the Indians and British came across Wisconsin from Green Bay, surprised and captured a part of Governor Clark's army. The soldiers were paroled and the British and Indians took possession of the fort and warehouses. The barges were still in possession of Governor Clark's soldiers. These were reenforced by more than a hundred soldiers sent to their relief from St. Louis in three barges under command of Lieutenant Campbell.

Above Rock Island Lieutenant Campbell's vessel was run ashore, where it was boarded by Indians and set on fire. Many of Lieutenant Campbell's men were killed, Campbell himself was wounded. The other two boats, under command of Captains

Riggs and Rector, were farther up the stream. When they became aware of the situation they came to the rescue of Lieutenant Campbell. Captain Rector succeeded in getting the men off of Campbell's boat, but Campbell's boat and Captain Riggs' boat were taken and plundered by the Indians. Captain Rector reached St. Louis with his cargo of human freight. Governor Reynolds says the soldiers who came back with Captain Rector were a distressing sight. They were worn down to skeletons and were fit only for the hospital.

The British and Indians were gathering about Rock Island and Prairie du Chien in large numbers. They were well armed and had six field pieces of artillery. Against such a force the small expeditions that we had sent up to that locality were unable to cope. But another expedition was planned.

Maj. Zachary Taylor, later to win great glory in the Mexican war and to serve a short time as President of the United States, was appointed to command a third expedition up the Mississippi. Early in the fall of 1814 he sailed from St. Louis with eight barges and 450 men. Forty were regulars and the rest Rangers and volunteers. The prime purpose of this third expedition was to build and maintain a fort of considerable pretensions in the heart of the Indian country. Near the mouth of Rock River the boats encountered Indians, cannon, and British Red Coats. Major Taylor engaged the Indians on a small island and while so engaged his own boats were subjected to a very destructive bombardment from the British cannon stationed along the shore of the river. Major Taylor made good his retreat and came down the Mississippi to about where Warsaw, Hancock County, is, and there built Fort Edwards. Here the expedition lingered for several weeks, when they returned to St. Louis and the volunteer soldiers were discharged, October 18, 1814.

Treaties

The war was officially ended by the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814. The Indians were held in check by the fact that the British had made peace with the United States, though treaties with the Indians were not made till July, 1815. The President appointed Governor William Clark, Governor Ninian Edwards, and Hon. Augusta Chouteau to make treaties with the leading Indian tribes that had been allied with the British in the War of 1812. The American commissioners and the representatives of two or three of the tribes in the Northwest agreed to the basis of a future treaty in July, 1815. The following year this treaty with slight modifications was formally signed by representatives of most of the tribes, including the Ottawas, Chippewas, and the Pottawattomies. Other treaties were signed with the Waas, Peorias, and Illinois. In the treaty of 1816 the Indians ceded 1,418,400 acres of land, chiefly in Illinois. In two treaties made in 1818, 17,886,280 acres of land were ceded to the United States.

CHAPTER XXI

ILLINOIS A TERRITORY OF THE SECOND CLASS

ILLINOIS A FIRST CLASS TERRITORY—THE LEGISLATURE ORGANIZED—SOME EARLY LAWS—LAND TITLES—DELEGATE IN CONGRESS — PREEMPTION LAWS — SHADRACH BOND — INCREASED IMMIGRATION—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION—BANKS—CAIRO

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River until it should be admitted into the Federal Union as individual states.

ILLINOIS A FIRST CLASS TERRITORY

In 1809 Illinois Territory was separated from Indiana Territory. The territory which was subject to the jurisdiction of the authority of the government to be established therein was all that region north of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi, and west of the Wabash River and a line running due north from Vincennes to the boundary between the United States and the Territory of Canada. When the Act of Separation was passed, February 3, 1809, Illinois became a territory of the first class—having a governor, three judges and a secretary. In the original Ordinance of 1787, 5,000 legal voters were necessary before the territory could pass from the first class to the second class. In the ordinance as revised by the first Congress under the Constitution, the territory might pass to a second class when a majority of the voters expressed themselves favorable to such action, "Notwithstanding there may not be therein 5,000 free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards." In the "Life of Governor Edwards," he is made to say that "he chose to be guided by a deliberate expression of the will of the people." But Governor Edwards was a politician, and just what the motives were which caused him to desire that the territory should pass to the second class will not be easily judged. On March 14, 1812, he called an election the first Monday in April, at which the people should express their wish relative to a change from a first class to a second class territory.

The Ordinance of 1787, which provided the basis for the government in this territory, provided that the governor must own 1,000 acres of land; the judges, secretary and members of the Upper House of the legislative body should own 500 acres each; representatives must own 200 acres of land; the last straw that

broke the camel's back reads: "That a freehold of fifty acres of land in the district" was necessary for the privilege of the franchise. Out of 12,000 inhabitants which were in Illinois in 1812, 2,000 of them were twenty-one or over, and had the proper age requirement for voting, but it was very likely that not more than 400 of the 2,000 owned the necessary amount of land which was required in order to be able to vote.

It therefore fell out that on the day set for voting on whether Illinois should pass to a territory of the second class, that only about 300 votes were cast on the question. A very large majority of the votes, however, favored the change to a territory of the second class. Word was conveyed to Congress, which on May 21, 1812, raised the territory to the second class. The requirement that a voter must be a landholder was abolished.

By reason of the military operations in the summer of 1812, described in the preceding chapter, the governor was too greatly interested to give any time to other matters. But on September 14th, 1812, the governor issued a proclamation creating three new counties, Madison, Gallatin, and Johnson. These three new counties, together with St. Clair and Randolph, made five counties. The County of Madison included all of Illinois Territory north of an east and west line which was an eastward extension of the present boundary line between St. Clair and Madison. The house of Thomas Kirkpatrick was made the county seat of Madison County; the Village of Shawneetown was to be the county seat of Gallatin County; and the house of John Bradshaw was to be the seat of justice for Johnson County. On the same day, September 16th, the governor by another proclamation called an election for the 8th of October, 1812, for the election of members of the Legislature and a delegate in Congress. This election was held when the people were in the midst of a war and there was no great amount of interest in the choice of officials.

Five members of the Upper House, the Council, were chosen as follows: "Pierre Menard, merchant, from Randolph County; William Biggs, farmer, from St. Clair County; Samuel Judy, farmer, from Madison County; Thomas Furgeson, from Johnson County; and Benjamin Talbot, from Gallatin County." The members elected to the House of Representatives were as follows: From Randolph County, Dr. George Fisher was chosen; Joshua Oglesgy, a Methodist minister, and Jacob Short, a farmer, were chosen from St. Clair County; William Jones, a Baptist minister, was selected from Madison County; Colonel Philip Trammel, a Ranger, and Alexander Wilson, a tavern-keeper, were chosen from Gallatin County; and John Grammar, farmer, from Johnson County. At this same election Shadrach Bond was chosen as a delegate to sit in Congress.

The newly elected Legislature met at Kaskaskia, November

25th, 1812, and organized for legislative work by choosing Pierre Menard as presiding officer of the council, and John Thomas as secretary. In the House of Representatives, Dr. George Fisher was elected speaker, and William C. Greenup was elected clerk. Governor Reynolds says the entire Legislature of twelve men all boarded at the same house and slept in the same room.

When this legislative body assembled, the governor delivered his message, a document of some 4,000 words. The chief topic was of course war. He incorporated considerable European history in his message, and gave minute details of military operations in the present war. He characterized the Indians, and concluded that the final necessity would be the conquest of Canada. He paid a tribute to Colonel Russell of the Ranger regiment, recommended some needed laws, and ended by saying: "In the meantime I beg leave to assure you of my readiness to afford you every facility to the discharge of your duties, and of my sincere desire to cooperate cordially with you in all measures calculated to promote the public good." The Legislature formulated a short reply to the governor's message, in which they praised him for his wisdom in handling the problems of the territory and expressed the wish that "You may long continue to enjoy the confidence of your country, and with it health and happiness."

Some Early Laws

After the preliminaries were over the Legislature took up the matter of providing laws for the territory. A bill was presented providing for the creation of courts of various grades, and also an act to provide a more efficient military organization. Much of the time of the Legislature was taken up in providing for the military operations in which the territory was engaged. All general laws in operation while Illinois was a part of Indiana Territory, as well as the laws which were in force in Illinois while it was a first class territory, were adopted for Illinois as a territory of the second class. Some of the laws will be of interest at this time.

Whipping on the bare back for felonies and misdemeanors was a common form of punishment. Confinement in the stocks or standing in the pillory was often the punishment for minor offenses. Branding with hot irons was not an uncommon method of judicial punishment. Fines and loss of citizenship were common. There was no penitentiary, and jails were not common. Imprisonments were often made in private homes or in other private rooms. In whipping, as a form of punishment for offenses, it was customary to bare the back, and the number of lashes ranged from ten to 500, according to the seriousness of the offense. In the case of fines as a form of punishment, if the officers were unable to collect the amount named in the decision of the court, the offender's time could be sold and he was

required to work at hard labor so many days in lieu of money payment. In treason and murder, the penalty of death by hanging was named as the punishment. Hanging was the punishment also for arson and rape.

In the matter of the collection of debts the principles of the old common law were applied. The creditor was usually favored. All the property of the debtor was subject to seizure for the satisfaction of debts. There were no exemptions as now. There were cases in which the person of the creditor could be seized and cast into prison.

One of the problems before the Legislature was the question of raising money for the support of the Government. There was no way to raise a revenue except by some form of taxation. This would include tax on lands, on personal property, and a poll tax. The bottom lands of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash were taxed at the rate of $1.00 per 100 acres. The uplands were not considered as valuable as the bottom lands and were charged 75 cents per 100 acres. All the money raised by taxation of lands went to the support of the territorial Government, while the county expenses were met by a tax on personal property. There was a poll tax of $1.00 per head on men owning $200 worth of taxable property. There was also a system of licenses collected on certain occupations and businesses. Stuve reports the amount of taxes actually collected in the three years 1812, 1813, 1814, as being $4,875.45. The amount actually paid to the proper officers to be expended was $2,516.89, the balance remained in the hands of the delinquent collectors—a practice the officials still find convenient.

Delegate in Congress

The revised ordinance provided that a territory of the second class might have a delegate in Congress who should be elected by the people. At the time of the election of the members of the first territorial Legislature, a delegate was therefore selected to represent the new territory in Congress. The choice fell on Mr. Shadrach Bond, a pioneer of the Illinois country. Mr. Bond was a Marylander, born November, 1773. He was a farmer and received only a limited education. He emigrated to Illinois as early as 1794. His uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr., James Moore, and others had settled near the present city of Waterloo and in the American Bottoms near, as early as 1781. To this settlement Shadrach Bond, Jr., came from his Maryland home. He took an interest in public affairs, and was a member of the Legislature of Indiana Territory in 1807. In 1809 he was an aid to the governor with the title of lieutenant colonel commanding. His election as Illinois' first delegate in Congress was by common consent. He was well liked and was considered a man of superior natural attainments.

This position of delegate, was not, in those days, a position that most men would take any great trouble to secure. It was of course an honor to be chosen as the delegate from any territory to sit in Congress. But only those who had means and leisure could afford to accept such positions. It was a journey from Kaskaskia to Washington of many days. The mode of travel was usually on horseback. The pay was eight dollars a day during the session with some allowance for travel, etc. In 1813 Washington was a new town in the woods on the Potomac, and the accommodations were of course very meager. It is said that men did not so much desire the office of delegate to Congress as they desired the opportunity to secure appointments to better positions in the Government service. At least Mr. Bond was appointed to a receivership in the land office at Kaskaskia before he returned from Washington.

Land Titles

Nothing has been more troublesome for those in authority, both in the national and in the territorial governments, than the confusing and overlapping claims to lands within the limits of Illinois. The French, between the years 1720 and 1763, made many hundreds, if not thousands, of land grants within the present state. Their grants were made along the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Ohio, and the Wabash Rivers. Some of their grants are found, however, scattered somewhat inland from these streams. These grants were usually surveyed and platted, and recorded, but in many cases the grants were difficult to locate. The English authorities also made grants in nearly all the different states west of the Alleghanies. Many of these were not definitely located, except in the mind of the one to whom the grants were made. The grantee often made or caused to be made a survey of his grant. This was before the rectangular system of surveys was known, and the boundary lines followed streams or lines running from one natural object to another. In 1778 Illinois fell into the possession of the State of Virginia. The State of Virginia held Illinois from 1778 to 1784 when she ceded her claims to western lands to the general government. During the time Virginia held Illinois she made many grants to her soldiers in the Northwest Territory. Many of these were not definitely located. In 1788 the Congress made a ruling that the United States would recognize all grants of land made by those in authority previous to that time. The United States under the articles and afterwards under the Constitution made grants in this western country.

As early as the coming of John Todd in 1779, Virginia endeavored to bring about the establishment of the records of the claims of the inhabitants of the French villages to land grants

THE OLD STATE HOUSE IN KASKASKIA

under the French government. And again as early as 1790, the governor of the Northwest Territory was authorized to adjust the conflicting land claims which were continually arising in the regions over which he exercised control. This duty was imposed upon all the governors of the Northwest Territory down to 1804. In that year the President was authorized to appoint commissioners of the land office who should sit as a sort of court to adjust conflicting claims and to grant titles to disputed lands. These commissioners and the governors of the territories worked together to establish valid titles to the lands. It is claimed that these conflicting claims in the Northwest Territory greatly retarded the opening of the land offices for the sale of the public lands.

Three land offices were established in 1804; one at Kaskaskia, one at Vincennes, and one at Detroit. These land offices seem not to have been established for the sale of public land to settlers, but their chief work seems to have been a sort of clearing house in which the validity of land titles should be determined. These land claims were very difficult in many cases to establish, and the sale of public lands to actual settlers was not begun till in 1814. Each land office was in charge of a register and a receiver of public moneys. These two officials were the land commissioners of their respective districts. All persons claiming lands by reason of any grant by any government were notified to appear before the commissioners and present evidence of the genuineness of their claims. If the commissioners found that any claim was based on insufficient authority the claim became a part of the national domain and was sold at auction.

Preemption Law

As early as 1781 some of George Rogers Clark's soldiers came from Kentucky, the Carolinas, or other of the older states and "squatted" on the public lands without any regard to the ownership of the lands. Often these settlers would make improvements which were of real value in that region. In 1790 James Piggott and forty-five other settlers living between Kaskaskia and Cahokia petitioned the Government for the right of preemption. As a result of these and other petitions, Congress in 1791 passed a law providing that each American head of a family should have confirmed to him 400 acres of land provided he had settled upon it as early as 1783. And, if having once settled and then moved away, upon his return he should have his holding confirmed to him. This law was intended to bring back those Americans who, because of dissatisfaction, had moved across the Mississippi River.

In 1796 a small number of residents of Kaskaskia petitioned Congress to be allowed to select their 400 acres in the prairie

lands east of the Kaskaskia River, as the law of 1791 required their allotments to be located between the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi. The petition was not granted. Other petitions asking the right of preemption were presented but Congress seemed to be averse to complying with these requests. Up to 1800 the smallest tract of land which the government offered for sale in the Northwest Territory was 4,000 acres.

In 1799 William Henry Harrison was elected a delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory. "His first attention was imperiously called to the subject of the public lands." At that time emigration into the Northwest Territory was rapidly increasing, but it was still hindered by the fact that poor people could not buy land and the public knew that Congress was not well disposed toward the principle of preemption. Mr. Harrison secured recognition at once as a man of marked ability and as one who was perfectly familiar with the needs of the people in the Northwest Territory. He championed the cause of the poor people by securing a law which reduced the minimum amount of public lands to be bought at one-half section—240 acres. Another master stroke was a law which placed the price at $2.00 per acre with the privilege of paying one-fourth down. The balance was payable in future installments. We have already called attention to the qualifications of the voters who participated in the election of 1812 when Illinois Territory passed from a first class to a second class territory. Those only could vote who owned 50 acres of land, and it will be remembered that only about 400 voted out of a population of 12,000. There should be 2,500 voters in a population of 12,000; so there must have been nearly 2,000 men—heads of families—who were "squatters" in Illinois Territory in 1812.

Hundreds of settlers had been induced to come to Illinois Territory from 1804 to 1812 by the fact that the general Government had established two land offices in Illinois Territory in 1804—one at Shawneetown and one at Kaskaskia. From this action of the general government the conclusion was easily drawn that the unsold lands would soon be put on the market. But in 1812 at the first meeting of the Legislature no land had yet been put on the market. All these settlers, known as "squatters," who had settled prior to 1813, were in danger of having their lands taken from them. Many had been bold enough to make improvements—dig wells, clear lands, build houses, fence fields, plant orchards—many of them, in the nature of things, of common interest in the neighborhood such as roads, bridges, churches, burying grounds, and now and then a schoolhouse. Without a preemption law—after the lands were placed on the market—any one might go to the land office and buy a well improved quarter section or a half section for which he would receive a deed or patent signed by the President of the United

States. The man who had made the improvements was helpless before the law to protect the fruit of many years of hard labor, and unless the purchaser was willing to concede something to the "squatter" who had made all these improvements he must lose all. These conditions and practices were intolerable and it is indeed strange that anyone should come to Illinois Territory and make improvements on Government land, when he ran the risk of losing it all.

Shadrach Bond

Shadrach Bond, Jr., was a man of the common people. He was thoroughly acquainted with their ambitions and their virtues. He was intelligent, practical, honest. Reynolds says: "He was educated in the wide world of the human family, and his conscience and sound judgment were his unerring preceptors." He was by profession a farmer, a real "dirt farmer." In his early life he was a member of the Territorial Legislature which met at Vincennes. Here he won great praise from the people for his faithful attention to the duties of his office. In 1812 when the Territory of Illinois was to choose a delegate to sit in the Congress of the United States, Shadrach Bond was the choice of the people.

"During his term as a delegate in Congress, he secured the enactment of the first pre-emption law ever put upon the statute books in the United States. This law will be better appreciated when we understand the practices of frontier life.

The wave of immigration often traveled westward faster than the surveys did. In such cases the settler never knew just where his land would fall when the region was platted by the surveyor. And again, after the surveyor had done his work it often happened that the surveyed land was not placed on the market for a number of years. The settler usually selected his lands and made improvements with the expectation that he would buy the land when it came on the market. Unprincipled men would watch and would often step in ahead of the settler at the land office and buy the improved land at Government prices. This often resulted in violence and bloodshed."

Bond's pre-emption law recognized the equity which the settler had in the land over and above the government price of the land. If the settler selected a certain quarter section and made improvements thereon he had the first chance to buy that quarter section when it was placed on the market. If the settler did not wish to buy the land and another wished to buy it, the settler still had an equity in the improvements.

Increased Immigration

At the close of the War of 1812, there was a rapid increase in the population of the Illinois Territory. The population of Illinois in 1810 was 12,282; while in 1820 it was 55,162, an

increase of 42,880 or an increase of 450 per cent. This was an increase of 4,288 for each of the ten years. But we must remember that from 1810 to 1815 there was slight increase on account of the war. Probably more than 80 per cent of this increase came between 1815 and 1820.

The forces of nature seldom work alone, and there is no explanation of this increase in population that can be stated in terms of a single cause. But just as we find a combination of forces operating in the physical world to bring about certain ends, so in the historical world there is often a union of forces working harmoniously together to bring about certain desirable ends. There were at least five influences at work which wonderfully increased the population from 1815 to 1820 perhaps to a later date.

First, there were the conditions of peace and security which always prevail following the cessation of hostilities. From 1810 to 1815 there was being carried on a most distinctive form of warfare. Neither life nor property was secure anywhere within the limits of the territory. This condition which was the lot of those who lived in Illinois Territory at this time was known throughout the older settled portions of the United States. There was no desire along the seaboard to leave a quiet, peaceful life to come into a new and war-ridden section such as prevailed in the Illinois Territory. And while there were sections of the older parts of the United States where the same unsettled conditions prevailed as was found in the Illinois Territory, there was no disposition in those older sections to "jump out of the frying pan into the fire." But when the war closed and people were free to give way to the spirit of adventure, there was a steady movement toward the new west.

A second explanation of the rapid migration to the west is to be found in the improved and increased means of travel which the people found in 1815. The early emigrants from the older settled portions of the country to the west found distressing conditions, whether they came most of the way by water or by land. If they came by way of the Ohio from Pittsburg in an early day, the journey must be made in rudely constructed flat boats which furnished little shelter for people—men, women, and children. By 1815-20 the steam boat was a familiar object on the Ohio—the first one coming down that stream in 1811. The overland journey was much improved by 1815. Roads were definitely marked out, bridges had been built, ferries established along the streams, taverns were built along the main lines of travel, and villages were beginning to appear. Taking into consideration all the phases of traveling into a new country the conditions were greatly improved.

The third thing to be considered was the policy of organizing new counties in the Illinois Territory. The first county organized

was St. Clair in 1790. In 1795 the south half of St. Clair was organized into Randolph County. When the vote was to be taken on whether the Illinois Territory would pass from a first class to a second class, the governor created three new counties—Madison, Gallatin, and Johnson. In 1814, Nov. 28, Edwards County was created, and on December 9th, 1815, White County was laid off and organized. Monroe was created January 6, 1816; Jackson County, January 10th; Pope County, January 10th; Crawford County, December 31, 1816; Bond County, January 4, 1817; Franklin, Union, Washington, January 2, 1818. These were the fifteen counties which constituted the state when it was admitted into the Union in 1818. The county seat town, in the American state, is usually the largest and wealthiest town in the county. It is usually located in the central part of the county and soon becomes the center of political, social, and financial interests. It turned out that the creation of thirteen new counties and the location of their capitals between 1812 and the early part of 1818 gave great encouragement to the ambitious and aggressive emigrants moving out of the "old thirteen" into the newer west. Some of these counties were organized with no more than a hundred or so of inhabitants. The county seat was often located in some residence till the commissioners should determine where it should be located permanently. It was desirable on the part of the early settlers to get into a new county and take part in the organization. There were offices to be filled and policies to be initiated and these activities were alluring to the pioneers.

There was a fourth condition which tended greatly to the attractiveness of Illinois just after the War of 1812. That was the safety of life and property which was guaranteed in the treaties which the government made with the Indians after the war. The Indians were allied with the British in the war, and suffered many defeats while the conflict was on. They were driven from their villages, and their homes were destroyed. The British made no special effort to safeguard the Indians' possessions, and there was a feeling that the Indian had been abandoned by his former ally. At least the Indians had learned that they were losing from year to year in pursuing their former policies. Treaties were therefore made between 1816 and 1820 in which the Indians of the Illinois Country agreed to cede all their lands east of the Mississippi, and to move west of the Mississippi River just as soon as the whites should need the lands in Illinois for actual settlement. It was felt everywhere that there was a new and more hopeful outlook as to the problem of handling the Indians after the War of 1812. This feeling was shared by the people of the older states and the sentiment worked greatly to the advantage of an increased emigration into the Illinois Territory.

And lastly, nothing gave a more certain assurance of permanency in the settling of the new lands in Illinois than the preemption law which had been referred to. This law gave the squatter a stake in the land he occupied. He could make improvements with the full assurance that all the labor he expended upon houses, barns, fences, orchards, cleared lands, etc., was so much capital invested which could not be taken from him without his consent. If he desired to hold his quarter section when it came on the market he must be ready to pay the government price. But in any avent the land-claim-jumper could not get something for nothing.

These five conditions favored the rapid settling of the west and they are the explanation of the growth in population between 1812 and 1818.

Civil Administration

The passing of Illinois Territory from the first stage to the second stage was without doubt an important event in the civil affairs of the territory. In the early days of the territory there was not a great amount of interest in the civil government. The people were governed but they did not govern. There were two fairly good reasons why the people were passive in the matter of government. It must be remembered that a large part of the people in Illinois Territory were of French descent. The French were never a self-governing people. They were a passive people, at least in questions relating to government. They had no popular meetings for the expression of public opinion, they held few offices, and these only where routine was required. There was another element in the population which had come into the territory from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. They of course were English, and had always lived under English institutions, but they too were of a passive nature. The form of local government in the "old thirteen" was entirely different in the southern colonies from what it was in the northern colonies. They never enjoyed the privilege of holding democratic gatherings for the determination of public questions. The county officers were cared for by the county commissioners, while the local affairs were largely under the control of the vestry of the Episcopal churches. No school directors levied taxes in the old slave states, no town meeting determined the rate of taxation for the raising of the poor fund, nor were the few local officials elected at popular elections. The appointing power lay with the governor or with the "county courts."

The peculiar characteristics of the government for territories of the first class are therefore easily explained when we remember that fewer than a score of members sat in the Continental Congress when the ordinance was made and that a large majority of these were from the southern states where self-governing

democracies were not well understood. From 1809 when Illinois became a territory of the first class till 1812 when less than 20% of the men over 21 years of age voted on the question of passing into a second class territory, there was little participation in the affairs of government by the people.

But by the close of the War of 1812 there had come into the Illinois Territory quite a few people from the northern states. These had had experiences in the matter of government and would in the future exert in a quiet way influences which would bring about some changes in the civil government in Illinois as a territory of the second class.

The governor and judges had in 1809 passed a law prohibiting any one from holding two offices at the same time. The legislature, in December, 1814, passed three whereases which condemn the law of 1809. The legislature went on record as follows:

"Whereas, The free people of this territory are as competent as their public servants to decide on whom it is their interest to elect to represent them in the general assembly; and are too enlightened and independent to recognize the odious and aristocratical doctrine that they (the people) are their own worst enemies, or to admit it is the duty of their representatives to save them from themselves;

"Whereas, This legislature, being composed of the servants, not the masters of the people, cannot without an arbitrary assumption of power, impose restrictions upon the latter as to the choice of their representatives which are not warranted by the express words or necessary implications of the ordinance from which the legislature derives its powers; and

"Whereas, The duties of the judges of the county court established by law are such as have heretofore been performed in the territory by the justices of the peace, by whom they are also usually performed in many of the states, and there being nothing in the ordinance, nor any reason to exclude from a seat in the legislature those judges of the county, or surveyors, or prosecuting attorneys, that do not apply with equal force to military officers and justices of the peace, and the duties of the former being no more incompatible with a seat in the legislature than those of the latter, therefore"

"Be it resolved, that laws inconsistent with the above sentiments be abolished."

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the appointment of three judges who should reside in the territory northwest of the Ohio River, and have common law jurisdiction. The governor who should be appointed by the Congress should appoint such magistrates in each county or township as he might deem "necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same." But after the territory should pass into the second grade, the legislature shall have power to organize and regulate the local

government in the several counties. In pursuance of the authority conferred upon the governor while the territory was in the first class, the governor appointed a certain number of justices of the peace in each county. These justices constituted a court of common pleas in each county, and quarter sessions were held. The three judges appointed by Congress constituted a sort of Supreme Court to which cases came from the Common Pleas courts. This was the simple arrangement from 1809 to 1812 when the territory became second class.

In 1814 the Legislature by reason of the authority conferred upon it in the ordinance, reorganized the judicial system of the territory. In a bill entitled: "An act to establish a Supreme Court for Illinois Territory," the general court was abolished and the three judges appointed by Congress were made judges of circuit courts, and at the same time constituted the "Supreme Court." As circuit judges, the judges each had a circuit of two counties in which he was to hold two sessions in each county each year. Then once a year the three judges should hold a session at the seat of government where they were to hear appeals from the circuit courts.

The three judges opposed the law for they were not willing to do this "circuit" work. Again they argued that a mere Legislature could not regulate or direct judges holding their appointments from the President. They also objected to the principle that the court should sit in banc to hear cases on appeal from one of their own number. The governor was in favor of the bill, but the judges were asked to give their decision on the case in hand and their decision was against the plan. The whole matter was referred to Congress and that body endorsed the bill as passed, but the judges were very much dissatisfied. The territory soon became a state and the whole system was set aside by the Constitution of 1818.

Banks

There was little money in circulation in the Illinois Territory. The French had lived the simple life, and when the Americans came into the Illinois Country they too were accustomed to the barter system. But when population increased and the towns began to grow there was more and more need of a circulating medium. The old United States bank established in 1791 furnished a paper issue which circulated on par with gold and silver—at least most of the time. But the charter to this bank expired in 1811, and heroic efforts to recharter it failed. Its business was wound up and its issue disappeared from circulation. From 1811 to 1816 the issue of paper money was in the hands of the hundreds of irresponsible banks which operated under state charters or which were purely private concerns and

were subject to slight oversight. The paper money of this period was never up to par with gold and silver and there was a limited amount of coin in circulation. The War of 1812 brought some coin and the emigrant brought some, but there was not enough coin to meet the needs of legitimate trade. Immediately after the war there was a revival of industrial activities. Governor Reynolds says there was a considerable amount of exporting of hogs, cattle, horses, wheat and other farm products. Much of the live stock could be raised upon the "range" without cost to the owner. It was therefore a profitable business to the farmer. These products of the farm were marketed in Cincinnati and Pittsburg or sent down the Ohio and the Mississippi River to New Orleans. Steamboats were in common use on the Ohio and

JOHN MARSHALL'S RESIDENCE IN SHAWNEETOWN

The building in which the first bank in the State was housed, 1813

on the lower Mississippi, and by 1818 steamboats were plying the upper courses of the Mississippi.

While Illinois could sell her agricultural products in New Orleans, since that was a market for products destined for European consumption, she was unable to buy her supplies for the farm, the home, the shop, and the "infant manufactories" in that city. Many of her necessaries and most of her luxuries must come from the Atlantic Coast. While the means of transporting goods purchased in Philadelphia and other eastern cities, to the towns on the Ohio and along the Mississippi, were inadequate to the demands of the western farmers and business men, the means of making payment in the eastern cities for such goods were indeed crude and unbusinesslike. It has been told

of John Marshall, the first banker in Illinois that he carried his money from Shawneetown to Philadelphia in an old fashioned "carpet-bag" with which he paid for consignments of goods sent to the merchants of Shawneetown. The good money which the settlers brought with them and that left over from the war was soon spent, in payments for lands and only the cheapest kinds of private and state bank issue were left for other business transactions. What was needed was some system of exchange which would permit a merchant to pay a debt in Philadelphia by depositing the cash in a bank in his own town and sending the exchange by mail to his wholesale house in the eastern city.

But there were no banks in Illinois prior to 1816. There was however a business enterprise in Shawneetown which served the purpose of a bank. John Marshall, a successful merchant, came to Shawneetown in 1804, and resided there the rest of his life. He was a very active citizen and was of great worth to the village in which he lived. He built a two story brick on the bank of the river toward the south edge of the town. In one room of the lower floor he took deposits of people, and kept a sort of bank. He loaned money and may have bought and sold exchange. It is told that he kept the money in a sort of vault under the floor of the room and that access to it was through a trap door which was covered by a carpet. The old building still stands. When the levee was constructed, it was located just in front of his house with barely a passage way between the levee and the front door. A porch was afterwards constructed which enabled people to walk out of the upper rooms and on to the levee. The old brick building may be seen a few doors down the river from the "Grand View" hotel. But this institution which we call John Marshall's bank was in no real sense a bank. It was a place where one could leave his money for safe keeping, or where he might borrow a sum with proper security.

The first bank in Illinois Territory was chartered by the territorial legislature December 28, 1816. It was called The Bank of Illinois. It had a capital of $300,000, one-third of which was reserved for the territory, or the state when the territory should become a state. The charter was to run from January 1, 1817, to January 1, 1837. There were to be twelve directors to be chosen annually. It was provided in the charter, that if the bank should at any time refuse to redeem any of its bills, the holder might collect twelve per cent. interest per annum from the time he made the demand for redemption. It was located in Shawneetown. Among its early officers were John Marshall, Leonard White, Samuel Caldwell, John Caldwell, John McLean and Michael Jones. John Marshall was its first president, and John Siddall was its first cashier. The history of this bank is an interesting part of the banking business of Illinois.

An interesting letter may be found in the Edwards Papers, edited by Elihu B. Washburne, from John Marshall the president of the Shawneetown Bank, concerning the treatment of his bank by the Kaskaskia Bank and the banks in Missouri and the bank at Edwardsville. The letter dated May 25, 1819, is directed to Ninian Edwards who at that time was United States senator from the young State of Illinois. A few extracts will give some notion of Mr. Marshall's complaints against his rivals. "I have some knowledge of the low plodding and cunning of certain characters at Kaskaskia.—The course the receiver (of public money) at Kaskaskia has lately pursued towards our bank, one day taking our notes and the next day refusing them, thus vexing the holders and thereby trying to impair the credit of our bank, shows their hostility towards us as well as yourself. The Bank of Missouri, acting in the same way, or rather worse; whenever she thinks proper to take our notes it is with a view alone of making a run for specie; as proof of this I need only mention that she has lately paid us a visit and carried off $12,000 of our specie—I can assure you the directors of this bank, so far as have come to my knowledge, are disposed to be on the most friendly terms with the Bank of Edwardsville; they had ordered the cashier to receive your notes, but various reports reaching us of the most unfavorable nature, the directors thought proper to rescind that order until they could be informed of the true situation of your bank."

It appears that Senator Edwards was one of the main men in the bank at Edwardsville, and further that the Bank of Missouri, in which the money for the sale of the public lands in Illinois was deposited, was making efforts to break down the bank at Edwardsville and at Shawneetown. And it was probably true that the bank at Kaskaskia was playing into the schemes of the Bank of Missouri.

The Bank of Illinois located at Shawneetown, was incorporated on December, 1816. At the next session of the Legislature the bank of Edwardsville and another at Kaskaskia were chartered. These, like the Shawneetown Bank, were banks of issue. The Legislature by a clause in the law virtually forced creditors to accept the issue of these banks in payment of debts, since the law provided that if upon the creditor's securing judgment against a debtor, if the creditor would not accept the issue of the Illinois banks the actual collection of the debt was postponed. Both the bank at Edwardsville and the one at Shawneetown became banks of deposit for the funds arising from the sale of public lands in 1818. The bank at Edwardsville seems to have been unfortunate since it was accused of not paying over to the United States the receipts for the sale of public lands. Its stock was held as follows: $214,250 in Kentucky; $18,000 in St. Louis; $66,750 in Illinois. In 1821 the bank failed and the government

secured judgment against it for $45,000 which was never collected.

Cairo

The point of land between the Ohio and the Mississippi at their junction attracted public notice at a very early date. As early as July 26 and 28, 1817, John G. Comegys of Baltimore purchased at the land office in Kaskaskia, Michael Jones register, and Warren Brown receiver, all or nearly all the land between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers, amounting to about eighteen hundred acres. At that time the price of land was $2.00 per acre, one-fourth of which could be paid in cash and the balance in installments. Comegys paid the first and second installments, and after his death the third payment was made. The fourth payment was never made and in 1835 the lands were resold and the purchase money reverted to the government.

In 1818, January 9, the Legislature passed "The Act to Incorporate the City and Bank of Cairo." The incorporators were John G. Comegys, Thomas H. Harris, Thomas T. Herbert, Charles Slade, Shadrach Bond, Michael Jones, Warren Brown, Edward Humphreys, and Charles W. Hunter. Comegys was from Baltimore, Md.; Bond, Jones, Brown and Humphreys lived at Kaskaskia; Hunter lived in St. Louis; Harris, Herbert, and Slade lived in Virginia. John G. Comegys was a rich merchant who did business in Baltimore and St. Louis. It was the plan of these incorporators to lay off the tract of land which Comegys had bought and to begin a city at the junction of the two rivers. It was the plan to sell the lots at $150; put $100 into the bank capital and use $50 of each lot to construct a system of levees around the future city. A plat was drawn in Baltimore. The streets ran east and west and north and south. There were 290 blocks with twenty lots to a block, making 5,800 lots. These if sold at $150 per lot would produce $870,000. John G. Comegys died in the spring of 1818, and the attempt to found the City of Cairo was deferred many years. But the Bank of Cairo was opened in Kaskaskia in 1818 or 1819. The bank never flourished, though it issued bills and did a general banking business it never was a strong financial institution. It is said of the Shawneetown Bank that it always redeemed its own issue, while other banks were obliged at time to suspend specie payment.

CHAPTER XXII

LOOKING FORWARD TO STATEHOOD

ABSTRACT OF TITLE—TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—COMPARISONS —MAKE-UP OF CONGRESS—GOVERNMENT ARISTOCRATIC— RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE MODIFIED—FACTIONS—EDITOR COOK— PROPAGANDA

We have now about completed the study of the redemption of Illinois from a wilderness of forests and of prairies, and from the blight of Indian occupation. Possession is not ownership, but among the pioneers of our country it was nine points of law. It is desirable to trace the chain of possession from the earliest period to the date when Illinois knocked at the door of national Union for membership. When Illinois applied for admission into the Union as a state, we did not present the territorial area which we know as Illinois to the Union and ask its acceptance, since it may be shown that the United States at that time not only had possession but held ownership as well. It is to show this possession and ownership that we shall give a brief survey of the prior occupants and owners. If we can show that the several possessors and owners made transfers of Illinois in such forms as is recognized by the powers immediately concerned, as well as by the peoples remotely concerned, then we shall be able to establish the ownership of Illinois by the United States in 1818.

ABSTRACT OF TITLE

Whatever one may think as to the competency of the Indian tribes to own the soil, he can have no question as to the fact that they occupied the land when it was first known by white men. And there are abundant evidences of the fact that the land had been occupied for many centuries prior to the coming of the first white men. Just how long the same tribes, which were found within the limits of the present state of Illinois at the coming of the whites, had been residing here is difficult to determine. Let us suppose that they had possessed the land for many decades—at least long enough to give them nine points in law. For the sake of a starting point then let us say the Illinois Indians consisting of a loose confederation of five tribes once owned Illinois. These were the Tamaroas, Cahokias, Peorias, Kaskakias and the Michigamies. These were other tribes in Illinois at different times, but their occupation was not permanent and they were not considered as owning the soil of Illinois.

These five Illinois tribes were the first owners or claimants of the soil.

The continent of North America was claimed by Spain as a result of the discoveries of Columbus and of other early Spanish discoverers and explorers. The Spanish explorer who furnished Spain the best claim to the Illinois Country was Ferdinand De Soto, who first saw the Missippi River, and whose travels about that stream really gave Spain a claim to Illinois. There was an old law which said that the Christian prince who first saw or discovered a river, should have prior claim to the territory drained by that river. If there was any merit in this law, then Spain's claim to Illinois was a prior claim to the one by France, based upon the proclamation by La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi River in the year 1632, April 9.

Spain formally ceded her claim to all parts of Illinois to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, at which time France also ceded all her claim to Illinois to Great Britain.

France's claim to the Illinois Country as has been indicated, was based upon the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi by La Salle, in 1682. This claim was reenforced by a charter granted by Henry IV, King of France, in 1603. This charter, granted to Pierre de Ganst, Sieur de Monts, authorized the Sieur de Monts to settle and occupy any territory between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude. This would include all of Illinois north of the latitude of Springfield (nearly) and reaching to the latitude of the Straits of Mackinaw. The claim established by La Salle and the assumption of ownership in the charter of de Monts, were substantially strengthened by the discoveries and explorations of French Missionaries and by the actual occupation by France in 1712 and by military force in 1718. All the claims which France ever had to the Illinois Country were relinquished to Great Britain in 1763, at the close of the French and Indian war. We thus see that Spain and France have both claimed Illinois, and both have relinquished their claims to Great Britain.

Great Britain early laid claim to the territory including Illinois. John Cabot visited the eastern coast of North America in the year 1497. This gave Great Britain a claim to all the central part of the continent. In the course of the seventeenth century Great Britain parceled out to various companies and to individuals all this great interior of the continent. The particular grants which had to do with the Illinois territory were first, a grant to the Virginia Company in 1606 which included all territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of North latitude. There is nothing in this charter however which might be interpreted as meaning that Great Britain's claim extended from sea to sea. But in the amended charter of 1609 there is a distinct claim and grant of the continent from "sea to sea." In this year the king issued what is known as

the "second Virginia charter." The geography of the grant has its basis in Point Comfort as the starting place. The charter provides that from points two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Point Comfort lines shall run west and northwest enclosing "all that space and circuit of land, lying from the sea coast of the precinct foresaid, up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest." This new grant evidently reached four hundred miles along the coast. Now, if the north lines runs west and the south line runs northwest, the two lines will meet 400 miles west of the coast, along the north line. If the south line runs west and the north line northwest, the two lines will diverge and will never come together. This is the only interpretation which can be given to the boundary lines which will produce a "seat to sea" grant. In this grant, as thus interpreted, lies Illinois; and though the charter issued in 1809 was annulled in 1624, the Old Dominion always claimed the territory north and west of the Ohio River.

This claim of Virginia to the land northwest of the Ohio River was revived during the Revolutionary war and is the explanation of the sending of the George Rogers Clark expedition into the territory of the northwest. When in the Continental Congress, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, introduced his resolution providing for the declaration of the independence of the American colonies, there was coupled with this resolution, another which provided for the formation of a form of government. In compliance with this resolution a committee, called the Grand Committee, composed of thirteen members, with John Dickinson as chairman, formulated what afterwards came to be called the Articles of Confederation. This constitution of perpetual union was to become effective only when all of the thirteen colonies had ratified the document. The war absorbed the interests of the colonists and they were slow about ratifying the articles. In the winter of 1780-81 all the colonies (or states) had ratified except Maryland. The document was null and void without the signature of Maryland. The Maryland people therefore had it in their power to make or break the new experiment. This state made a proposition to the other states that Maryland would ratify the articles if all states having western lands would cede those lands to the general government to be used for the good of all the people of all the states.

This proposition of Maryland was a challenge to the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. All of those seven states except New York had been given, in their early days of settlement, "sea to sea" grants. New York had acquired from the Iroquois Indians a claim to large areas west of the Alleghanies. These states with western grants one by one took steps to transfer their claims to the general government, whereupon Maryland ratified

the Articles of Confederation. Illinois thus passed from the ownership of Virginia to the control of the United States under the Articles of Confederation. This was in March, 1781.

The unsettled condition of the country continued till the treaty of peace of 1783, and the general government gave little or no attention to its new lands till 1784 when Thomas Jefferson reported from a committee in Congress on the government of the lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. This scheme of Jefferson was known as the Ordinance of 1784. This ordinance was never put into operation. In 1785 Congress passed what is known as the Survey Ordinance which was the basis of the rectangular system of surveys used in all national territory since that date.

In 1787 the ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River was passed by the Old Congress. It was under this ordinance that five states acquired the experience which fitted them for the trials and burdens of statehood. Illinois has passed through these stages of development and is now ready to present herself for aceptance in the Federal Union.

We are now ready to say that the title to the ownership of Illinois has been examined and that the transfers have all been properly and legally made. We are now ready to ask the National Government to admit us to an equal position among the other states in the Union.

Territorial Government

Some writers have criticised the Ordinance of 1787 for providing a system of territorial government which they called undemocratic. Fault is found that the people in a definite area of territory as the Northwest Territory or the Indiana Territory were obliged to serve a period of probation before they were given the control of their own political affairs. The system of political development is characterized as undemocratic. There were three stages of political growth. In the first stage the people had no initiative. Government was imposed from without. The people were truly governed. In the second stage there were simple phases of self-government permitted. There were opportunities for initiation. The people elected a legislative body consisting of an upper and a lower house. 'Tis true that the governor had the veto power, but this only served to add a caution to the legislature and to tend to hold them within bounds. It is a stretch of the imagination to suppose that measures of unquestioned value to the young political community would be vetoed and that the wishes of the best people would be ruthlessly cast aside because an absolute veto power permitted it.

Comparisons

The whole theory of political development has always been from absolute monarchial forms to limited aristocracies and thence to republican democracies. If one were observant in the days before the coming of the horseless carriages, when the father with his wife and two-year-old were enjoying a carriage ride, he would have noticed that the father was too wise to turn over the control of the spirited team to the two-year-old. The father may allow the young son to hold the lines back of the father's grip, but not in front at first. It seems to the writer that the plan of colonial political development which was without doubt hastily worked out by the Congress of 1787, was an admirable one. No other plan has been devised in the past century and a third and the United States within that period has settled vast areas of territory and has fostered the growth of millions of population. The famed colonial systems of Greece, Rome, England, and Spain sink into insignificance when compared with the work in that line accomplished by the United States under the Ordinance of 1787. It may be that we shall understand the Ordinance of 1787 better if we remember that the Congress under the Articles of Confederation had in the later years been deprived of the wise counsel of the great men who had in earlier years given it their time, their minds, and hearts. It was no longer, in 1784 to 1787, a body in which the best minds desired a seat. It was more desirable to be a member of the State Legislature than to be a member of Congress. And there were other public places which brought more honor than membership in the old Congress. It should be said to the credit of the Southern states that their representatives remained longer at their posts in the old Congress than did the representatives of the Northern states.

Make-up of Congress

In the summer of 1787 when Doctor Cutler reached New York he found in Congress representatives from eight states, namely: Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Three Northern states and five Southern states. The only Southern state not represented was Maryland, while four Northern states were unrepresented—New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. When the ordinance that was under the consideration at the time Doctor Cutler reacher Congress, was referred to a new committee for final action, the committee was made up of Dane of Massachusetts, Smith of New York, Carrington and Lee of Virginia and Kean of South Carolina. Two Northern men and three Southern men. If then we will bear in mind that Congress was made up of three Northern states and

five Southern states, and that the committee was made up of two Northern men and three Southern men, it will be easy to understand the statement that Southern notions of political organization and not Northern notions dominated the Congress. In the New England states the town system of local government prevailed. The government was democratic, the people elected all officials who exercised political authority. In the South the county government idea prevailed. There were no popular assemblies corresponding to the town meetings of New England. All men who held official position were appointed to office. The government was artistocratic—it was in the hands of the "well born."

Government Aristocratic

It would be strange if the Ordinance of 1787 had had any provision for government by all the people. The men who made it were not believers in government by all the people. They therefore incorporated in the ordinance the appointive method of filling public stations. The governor was appointed by Congress, likewise the three territorial judges and the secretary. The governor was the commander-in-chief of the militia, and appointed and commissioned all minor militia officers. He also appointed all civil officers which he thought were necessary in the several counties and townships. To show that the organization was aristocratic we need only point out that the governor must own 1,000 acres of land, while the secretary and judges must own 500 acres.

There were some evidence that the political organization of a territory under the ordinance was artistocratic even after the territory had passed into the second grade. For even here the members of the council (or senate) were obliged to own 500 acres of land and the members of the lower house must own 200 acres. Even the electors must own a free hold of fifty acres as a prerequisite to participating in a general election.

When Jefferson purchased Louisiana in 1803, the problem of its government was not easy of solution. It was at first put under the care of the governor and judges of the Indiana Territory. But in 1804 the south half, the more thickly settled portion, was by a law of Congress placed in the hands of the President. He was to devise and carry out any plan which he deemed wise. The general plan adopted was similar to that laid down in the Ordinance of 1787. "He, the President, simply stepped into the place of King Charles of Spain, as the absolute ruler of the province." It was argued that such principles as government by the consent of the governed, popular control of officials through the ballot box, trial by jury, and no taxation without representation were completely ignored by the system of government which was instituted by the plan adopted by Congress and the President. In 1803 Edward Livingston of New York,

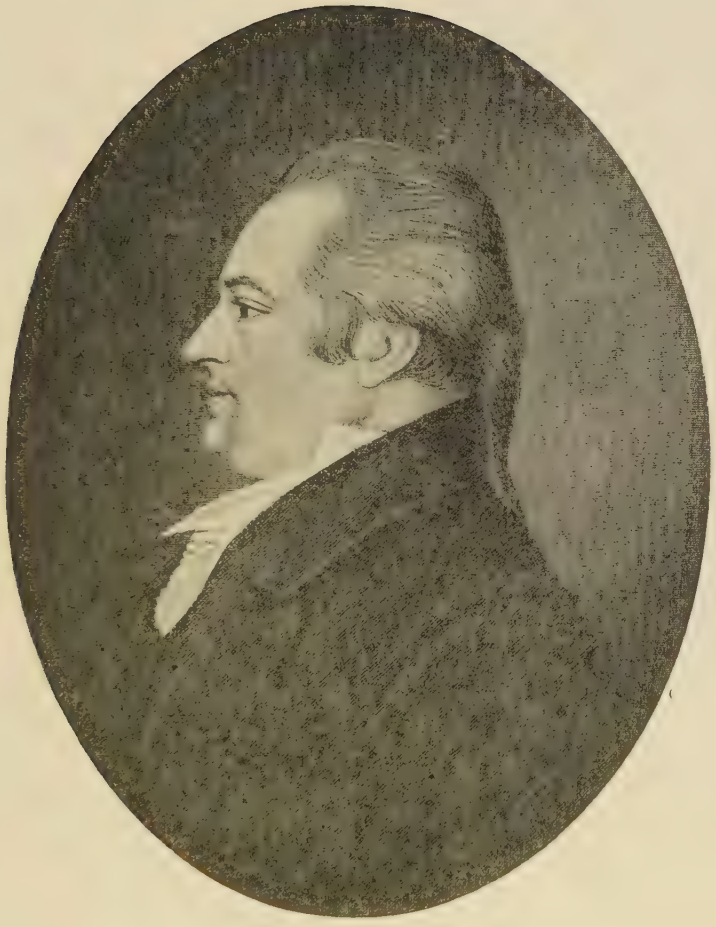
a brother of Robert R. Livingston, a patriot of the Revolutionary days, moved to New Orleans where he began the practice of law. Mr. Livingston soon entered upon a period of agitation for a fuller measure of self-government. On behalf of "planters, merchants, and other inhabitants of Louisiana" he formulated a vigorous protest against the law passed in Congress which deprived the inhabitants of Louisiana of participating in their government. His chief argument was that the purchase treaty promised the right and privileges of American citizens to the inhabitants who occupied the territory which was bought by President Jefferson.

Mr. Livingston made a good case for his clients and Congress modified the law, somewhat, but in the minds of the inhabitants they never realized the full rights of Americans citizens till the territory was admitted into the Union as a state in 1812.

Rights of Suffrage Modified

Illinois came to be a territory of the first class in 1809. Prior to this time several states in the Union had omitted the clauses in their constitutions which required property qualifications of the electors. And in keeping with this spirit of progress, the Congress had liberalized the requirements for voting in the Indiana Territory, and had given the voters the right to elect the territorial delegate in Congress and also the members of the upper house, or council, of the territorial legislature. These were regarded as great concessions by the Federal Government to the pioneers who were pushing westward the frontier line of civilization. When Illinois reached the period when she should pass to a territory of the second class, there was a very general notion that the question of passing was in the hands of a very small number. There were supposed to be 12,000 people in Illinois at that time. One-fifth of these or 2,400 would be over twenty-one years of age and by all means should take part in the election. Governor Edwards thought at that time that there were not over two hundred and twenty actual votes—since each voter must own fifty acres of land and since the land in Illinois had not been put on the market. Governor Edwards in a letter dated Elvirade, Randolph County, March 14, 1812, and addressed to Hon. Richard M. Johnson, congressman from Kentucky, explains at length that the people of Illinois can not participate in the government because of this restriction upon the right of suffrage. He shows that 130 free holders can cast the vote of more than 12,000 population.

Congressman Johnson, in response to the governor's letter and to petitions sent in from Illinois citizens, secured the passage of a law which greatly pleased the people of Illinois. It granted the right of suffrage to all free white males twenty-one years of age, and who had paid a territorial tax. The law was passed



NINIAN EDWARDS

on May, 1812, and in the election to test the wish of the people of Illinois on passing to the second-class, held in October, 1812, the vote cast was in excess of 400. But the territory was in the midst of the war and it has been claimed that the date and purpose of the election was not generally well known. From this time on to 1818, the people of the territory became organized into political factions.

Factions

These factions did some good as they kept alive the matter of representation and popular participation in the government. There grew up an Edwards party and an anti-Edwards party. The separation of the people into two factions grew out of the effort to establish a rule that the three Federal judges should serve as a supreme court and at the same time perform circuit court duty. An appeal was finally taken to Congress which decided with the view held by Governor Edwards that the judges should hold circuit courts. This seemed to be a victory won by Governor Edwards and the death of one of the judges shortly thereafter intensified the factional conflict. In filling the place made vacant by the death of Judge Griswold, Governor Edwards' candidate, Thomas Towles of Kentucky, was the successful candidate.

Among the public men who were more or less concerned in what we may call factional politics were the governor, Nathaniel Pope, Shadrach Bond, Elias Kent Kane, John McLean, Leonard White, Thomas C. Browne, Daniel Pope Cook, Jesse B. Thomas, Joseph M. Street. There were other public men, but these were the men who molded policies and directed the public mind. Among these public men the one who is given the credit for initiating the movement for the admission of the Territory of Illinois into the Union as a state was Daniel Pope Cook, a young lawyer who had grown up under the care of Nathaniel Pope. By the aid of powerful friends he had carried dispatches to John Quincy Adams, minister at the Court of St. James, London. Upon his return from London he became the editor of the Western Intelligencer, a newspaper formerly owned by Mathew Duncan and published in Kaskaskia.

Editor Cook

Mr. Cook is regarded as one of the most brilliant men of territorial days. The Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, editor of the Edwards' Papers says of Cook: "He was undoubtedly one of the ablest and most remarkable men whose name ever graced the annals of Illinois." Mr. Cook served three terms in Congress and died shortly after the close of this third term. Mr. Washburne again says: "There was before him when he died the promise of a most brilliant and distinguished career, which

would have added additional lustre to his name and brought additional honor to the state of his adoption."

When Mr. Cook took charge of the Kaskaskia Herald he changed its name to the Western Intelligencer. The editorials were of a high order and the paper took on new life and interest. In addition to the editorials and news columns, articles began to appear under the guise of contributions, signed by Aristides. These articles follow the general line of complaint that the Ordinance of 1787 under which all the Northwest Territory must be governed till it is all admitted as states into the Union, should be greatly modified or set aside. And since there had been several attempts made to have the ordinance changed without success, the only thing left as an alternative was the admission of the territory as a state. A propaganda was set on foot. There was the assurance of the rapid growth of the Territory in population, the need of electing a delegate to Congress who would stand pledged to the annulling of the ordinance or at least those parts which prohibited the greatest freedom in political action.

Nathaniel Pope entered Congress as a delegate on his second term in December, 1817. The public men in Illinois led by young Daniel P. Cook were successfully agitating the question of the admission of Illinois as a state into the Union. "Aristides" as well as the editor of the Intelligencer were active in keeping the matter before the public. They compared the position of Illinois with reference to the general government with that of the colonies and Great Britain prior to the Revolutionary war. Late in 1816 Aristides said: "The present rapid influx of population, that growing and prosperous state of the country, justifies the belief that it will not be more than three or four years before we will burst the chains of despotism, by which we are now bound, and stand a sovereign and independent state." An informal census had been taken and it was known that the population was only a little above 30,000. The ordinance provided that there should be 60,000 inhabitants before a state could be admitted into the Union. However, the people were urged to talk about admission and to continually keep the matter before the people. When in a rather discouraged tone the Intelligencer said: "The question (the admission to statehood) not very important at present, as the population of the territory will not in all probability, within the time for which the present delegate is to be elected, entitle us to the redress alluded to. So soon as the population is sufficient we hope that those evils will be obviated by a state government."

Propaganda

Young Cook was called to Washington in February, 1817. Here he was entrusted with dispatches to the Court of St. James.

He returned to Washington in the late summer and tarried a while hoping for a remunerative appointment from the President, but nothing offered that was attractive and he returned to Kaskaskia in November, 1817. Two days after his arrival in Kaskaskia, an editorial appeared in the Intelligencer which indicates a rapid movement at least in Cook's mind as to the desirability of admitting Illinois into the Union. "While we are laboring under so many of the grievances of a territorial, or semi-monarchical government, might not our claims to a state government be justly urged? That part of our territory which must ultimately form a state will no doubt be willing to take the burden of a state government upon themselves at this time, rather than submit any longer to those degradations which they have so long been compelled to put up with. We hope in our next issue to present to our readers, such a view of the subject as will induce our fellow citizens, as well as the Legislature, to take such measures as will bring it before the national Legislature, at their approaching session. We invite a discussion of the measure by such gentlemen as have, or will reflect on the subject."

In the following issue there appeared a discussion of some of the objections to the assumption of statehood. One of the objections that was discussed was the cost of statehood as compared with that of territorial government. It was pointed out that under territorial government the national government was meeting all the expenses. The governor, judges, and secretary were all on the pay roll of the United States. The amount of the annual pay roll was some better than $6,000. It was pointed out that for a few years it would be possible to secure the services of patriotic citizens gratis, or at least at a nominal salary. Another objection to statehood was the very large percentage of the population that was French and therefore ignorant and unable to participate in political activities. This was met by the statement that nine-tenths of the voting population were Americans and that prior to their coming to Illinois had participated in government in the states from which they came.

The arguments in favor of the territory's assuming the responsibilities of statehood were pointed out as follows: A constitution could be so framed as to take from the governor the absolute veto. (The law makers fretted very much over the fact that the territorial governor had the absolute veto power.) The state would be supreme with regard to its internal affairs. The claim was set up that under the territorial system of courts that crimes often of the darkest hue went unpunished because the ultimate control of the courts was not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of appointive judges. Mr. Cook said that demoralized condition of the judiciary was a sufficient justification for desiring statehood.

Dr. John Snyder, who lived in Cahokia in the early part of the nineteenth century and was familiar with conditions in those early days says, in his sketch of Conrad Will, that "The population of Illinois Territory had so greatly increased, and the politicians and office seekers had become so clamorous for a state government that the Territorial Legislature, at its January (1818) session passed a resolution instructing Nathaniel Pope, the Illinois delegate in Congress, to present a petition to Congress asking for enactment of a law enabling the people of Illinois Territory to form a state government which he did." As Dr. Snyder says, the politicians and office seekers were chiefly concerned in getting the territory into the Union, and although there were two factions as has been stated they were all for securing the territory's admission into the Union. The line-up has been given as follows: Those with Governor Edwards were Nathaniel Pope, Daniel P. Cook, Thomas C. Browne, George Forquer, and Pierre Menard. The opposing faction included Shadrach Bond, Jesse B. Thomas, Michael Jones, John McLean, Elias Kent Kane, and William Kinney. We shall see how the offices in the new state were distributed.

The most serious problem before the proponents of admission was the lack of population. The ordinance required 60,000, but when Ohio applied for admission in 1802, the census, taken by the territorial officials, reached 45,028. Yet the Ohio people on top of that pressed their petitions for an enabling act. The act was passed and Ohio eventually admitted. Indiana was admitted with a population of 8,000 more than the required number. Mr. Cook argued that the admission of Illinois on a population less than that required in the ordinance would not "be inconsistent with the general interests of the confederacy." It was generally believed that the admission of the territory would greatly stimulate immigration and that there were commercial and economic advantages which would greatly counterbalance the mere lack of a few thousand population.

Again, there was another question which was a great detriment to the growth in population, and in other ways, as long as Illinois remained a territory. That was the slavery question. Slavery existed under the French regime. It was legal under British control, and the treaty of 1783 guaranteed to the inhabitants all their possessions under the United States. The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited it, but no court had ever passed on its validity. The slaves that were here when the treaty of 1783 was signed were still slaves and children born of slave mothers were slaves. But an interpretation of the ordinance had gone out which said all persons in slavery when the land cessions were made to the general government were to be regarded as still in bondage, but that no slaves could be brought into Illinois from a slave state. People were in great doubt.

Slave holders in the old slave states could not afford to move into Illinois for fear their slaves would be set free. People in Pennsylvania, New York and the New England states dare not move in for fear that when the territory did come into the Union it would come in as a slave state. So there was little interest in coming to Illinois by either the slave owners or the free state people.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ENABLING ACT

MEMBERSHIP OF LEGISLATURE—THE PETITION—SLAVERY—MR. POPE PRESENTS PETITION—THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY—SOME FEATURES OF THE ACT—COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES—ELECTING DELEGATES—EXPEDIENT OR INEXPEDIENT—WHO'S WHO AMONG THE DELEGATES—OCCUPATIONS—MILITARY SERVICE.

The third Territorial Legislature met at Kaskaskia December 2, 1816, and adjourned January 14, 1817. A second and called session of the third Legislature met December 1, 1817, and adjourned January 12, 1818.

The membership of this general assembly was as follows:

MEMBERSHIP OF LEGISLATURE

The Council

Randolph, Pierre Menard, president.
Madison, John G. Lofton.
St. Clair, Abraham Amos.
Johnson, John Grammar.
Gallatin, Thomas C. Browne.
Joseph Conway, Secretary.

House of Representatives

Randolph, Dr. George Fisher, speaker.
St. Clair, Charles R. Matheny, William H. Bradsby.
Jackson, Nathan Davis.
Johnson, Joseph Palmer.
Edwards, Seth Gard.
Pope, Samuel O. Melveny.
Gallatin, M. S. Davenport.
White, Willis Hargrave.
Monroe, John Moredock.
Madison, Mr. Gilham.
Crawford, Edward N. Cullom.

It will be noticed that the foregoing list of counties is four counties short of the proper number, fifteen. One explanation is that the ordinance required that a member of the lower house should be a citizen of the United States three years and that he should be the holder in fee simple of 200 acres of land within the territory. Complaint was made that there were large areas

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where no one could qualify for membership in either the lower or the upper House of the Legislature.

As has been said the Legislature met in special session on December 1, 1817. On the next day the governor, Ninian Edwards, delivered his message. This was an optimistic speech in which he congratulated the members of the Legislature, and the territory "upon the flattering prospects which our astonishingly rapid increase in population affords that our present temporary government must soon give place to one more congenial to the principles of natural liberty." The governor pointed out that one of the prerequisites to asking Congress to consider an application for statehood was definite knowledge of the population of the territory. It does not appear that the governor at this time was enthusiastic about seeking admission into the Union as a state. One would think that Governor Edwards would be consulted as to any plans which Cook was working out for an immediate movement on Congress. Cook belonged to Edwards' faction and later married the governor's daughter. Cook was not a member of the Legislature, but he was the clerk of the Lower House and thus had a splendid opportunity not only to know what public thought was but in a large measure to influence its formation.

The governor in his message had referred to the taking of the census so the results might be laid before the next Legislature. Now, the next Legislature would not meet until December, 1818, and the active spirits could not think of another whole year of marking time. On the same day that the governor's message was received, steps were taken looking toward securing admission. William H. Bradsby, a very active and intelligent member of the Lower House, introduced a resolution providing "that a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress praying for this territory to be admitted into the Union, with all the rights and privileges of a state government." The motion prevailed, the committee was appointed, the memorial was formulated, and on December the 6th the House adopted the memorial. There was no opposition, and the memorial was sent to the council which also adopted it. Mr. Alvord in Volume I of the Centennial History of Illinois has pointed out that probably one thing which hastened the leaders in Illinois to a decision to lose no time in preventing their case in Congress was the fact that Missouri was at the same time agitating the question of the admission of that territory into the Union. In fact Missouri presented her request in March, 1818.

The Petition

The memorial prepared by the committee of the Lower House had without doubt the help of Mr. Cook, as there are incorpo-

rated in it many points which had been discussed in the Intelligencer within the past year. Some of the points are:

1. An assurance that the population had reached a sufficiently large number to justify the people in taking over the government.
2. The Territorial Government is characterized as undemocratic, hostile to the principles of republican government.
3. The population is estimated from reliable sources at not less than 40,000, made up of immigrants from the eastern as well as from the western states.
4. The burden of financial support for the new state could be met (it was suggested) by grants to the state by the general government of the lead mines in the northwestern part of the state, and of the salines in the southern part of the state.
5. There was only a suggestion that the sixteenth section in each township be reserved for the schools of the township.
6. The suggestion is also made that a certain per cent of the income from the sale of the public lands within the state be granted to the state to be expended for the betterment of the public roads.
7. Similar generous gifts from the general government had been made to Ohio, admitted in 1803; Indiana, admitted in 1816; and Mississippi, admitted in 1817. The petitioners therefore most humbly ask for similar generous consideration.

Slavery

There were two questions still in the minds of those who were pushing the admission of Illinois to statehood. One was whether the Congress would accept the statement that there were 40,000 inhabitants in Illinois; and the other was what is to be done about slavery? To meet the first question—as to the population—the Legislature authorized the taking of the census. The enumeration was to be made under the direction of the Territorial Legislature. The enumeration was to be begun on April 1st and should be completed by June 1st. The returns should be delivered to the secretary of the territory. A supplementary law was enacted which provided for adding to the report turned in on June 1st, all newcomers who might arrive between June 1st and December following. In case the Congress did not question the statement in the petition as to the number of inhabitants, then the supplementary counting should be abandoned. The slavery question, however, was a real problem.

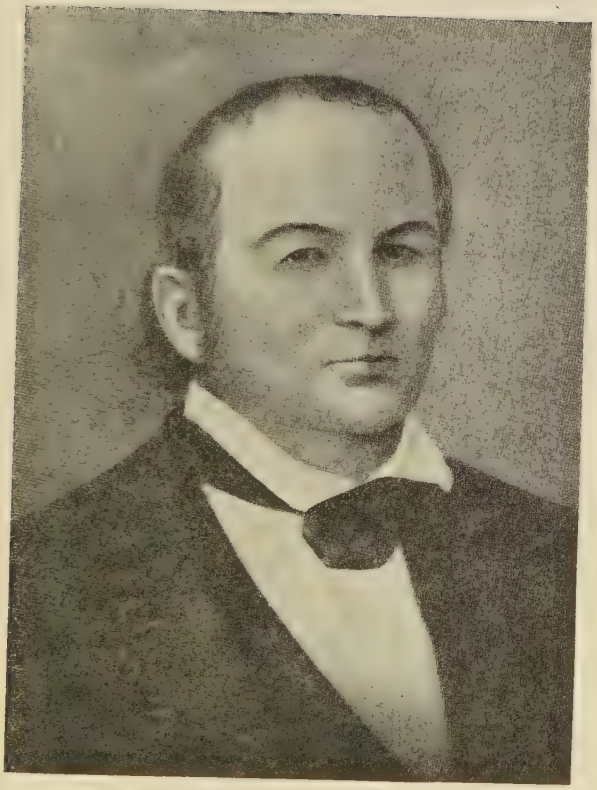
This question was raised when a resolution was introduced into the Legislature declaring the indenture laws then in force in the Illinois Territory as a violation of the slavery article in the Ordinance of 1787. The incoming population, at least since 1815, was largely from the non-slave holding states, and the

anti-slavery sentiment was getting stronger from day to day. It was known that Missouri would apply for admission as a slave state and it was generally believed that the territory would be admitted as a slave state. If so, this would strengthen the slavery sentiment in Illinois. If the indenture system could be declared unconstitutional by the Legislature and the whole system abolished before the writing of the new constitution for Illinois it would help very much to exclude slavery therefrom. The bill was warmly debated and passed by both the Lower and the Upper House, but was vetoed by the governor. Governor Edwards wrote a very excellent defense of his action in vetoing the bill, but stated in the message that he was no advocate of slavery and if it depended on him, slavery would never be admitted into another state or territory. The governor suggested to anti-slavery supporters that they might proceed in two other ways to accomplish their end, but they did not make any further attempt to annul the indenture laws. The thought at that time was that the battle would have to be fought out in the election of delegates to the constitutional convention. Before leaving the Legislature we may recall that before adjournment they created three new counties—Washington, Franklin, Union. There were now fifteen counties. It has been suggested that these three new counties might have something to do in determining the make-up of the convention for the making of the constitution in case Congress should pass the enabling act.

Congress met in the early part of December, 1817. Nathaniel Pope, who had been elected delegate in Congress in 1816, reached Washington on the 6th of December. The petition asking for admission was passed by the council on the 10th of December, 1817. It was forwarded immediately to Mr. Pope. It has been stated that without doubt Mr. Pope had taken no part in working up sentiment in favor of admission. There can be no doubt he was interested in getting Illinois into the Union before Missouri should attract the attention of the opposing forces for many people could see that Missouri was destined to cause a real sectional fight in the Congress.

Mr. Pope Presents the Petition

The petition of the Illinois Legislature was presented to the House on January 16, 1818. It seems not to have stirred up any opposition at least at first. It was a great compliment to Nathaniel Pope to be named chairman of a special committee of five to consider the petition and report to the House. The other members were Claiborne of Tennessee; Johnson of Kentucky; Spencer of New York; and Whitman of Massachusetts. Three of these men were from north of the Mason and Dixon line, while two were from slave states. It is evident that this select



NATHANIEL POPE

or special committee of five set immdiately to the task of considering the petition sent in by the Legislature of the Territory of Illinois, for on the 23d of January, just one week from the day the committee was appointed, they began work. One thing that enabled them to work rapidly was they had the enabling act which was passed for the admission of Indiana and the two acts were in the main alike. However, Mr. Pope soon discovered a weak spot in the petition. This was the question of population. The memorial or petition stated that the population was estimated at "not less than 40,000 souls." Mr. Pope could not make any definite statement to the committee as to the population. No census had recently been taken and Mr. Pope was left in an embarrassing position. When the enabling bill was first drawn a proviso required that the census be taken prior to the meeting of the convention. Mr. Pope, writing to the editor of the Intelligencer, says he hopes to get this proviso struck from the bill. To one at this distance from the incidents it would appear that Mr. Pope was not convinced himself that there were 40,000 people within the territory. He suggests to Mr. Cook that if they had assurances that there were 35,000 inhabitants, there would be no difficulty in getting favorable action on the bill at the hands of the special committee. The reason he mentions this number was that during the decade from 1810 to 1820 the congressional ratio was 35,000 and this number would justify one representation which the Federal constitution grants each state—large or small.

The Ordinance of 1787, Article V of the "Compact," provided that there should be formed in the said Northwest Territory not fewer than three nor more than five states with certain boundaries stated in the said article for three states which might be formed out of the territory south of an east and west line passing through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan. North of this east and west line the Congress was authorized to form two states. The boundary between the west state (Illinois) and the middle state (Indiana) should be the Wabash River and a north and south line through Vincennes. When Indiana was admitted the enabling act fixed the western boundary at the middle of the Wabash River and a north and south line drawn through Vincennes as far north as ten miles north of the parallel passing through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan. Thus the northern boundary line of Indiana was fixed at a parallel ten miles north of the parallel designated in the Ordinance of 1787.

The Northern Boundary

The enabling act as far as boundary is concerned, reported to Congress by Mr. Pope's committee fixed the northern boundary at the parallel of 41° 37′ 07.9,″ the parallel of the most south-

erly curve of Lake Michigan. The committee, as has been said, was appointed on the 16th of January, 1818, and reported on January 23d. The bill was read twice and committed to the committee of the whole, on the next Monday, which would have been January 26. It appears that there were so many bills ahead of Mr. Pope's enabling act that the bill was not called up in committee of the whole until April 3, 1818. On that day "The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the bill to enable the people of Illinois Territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of the State into the Union on a footing with the original states." Between the time the bill was reported by Mr. Pope, January 23, and the day the committee of the whole took up the bill for discussion, April 3, Mr. Pope had changed his mind about the northern boundary. He discovered that if the northern boundary should run west along the parallel of the southerly bend of the lake that the northeast corner of Illinois would be several miles from Lake Michigan, and there would be no chance for a lake port. Mr. Pope therefore thought out a change in the boundary as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said state; thence east with the line of the same state to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude 42° and 30′; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio River; and thence up the latter river along its northwestern shore to the place of beginning."

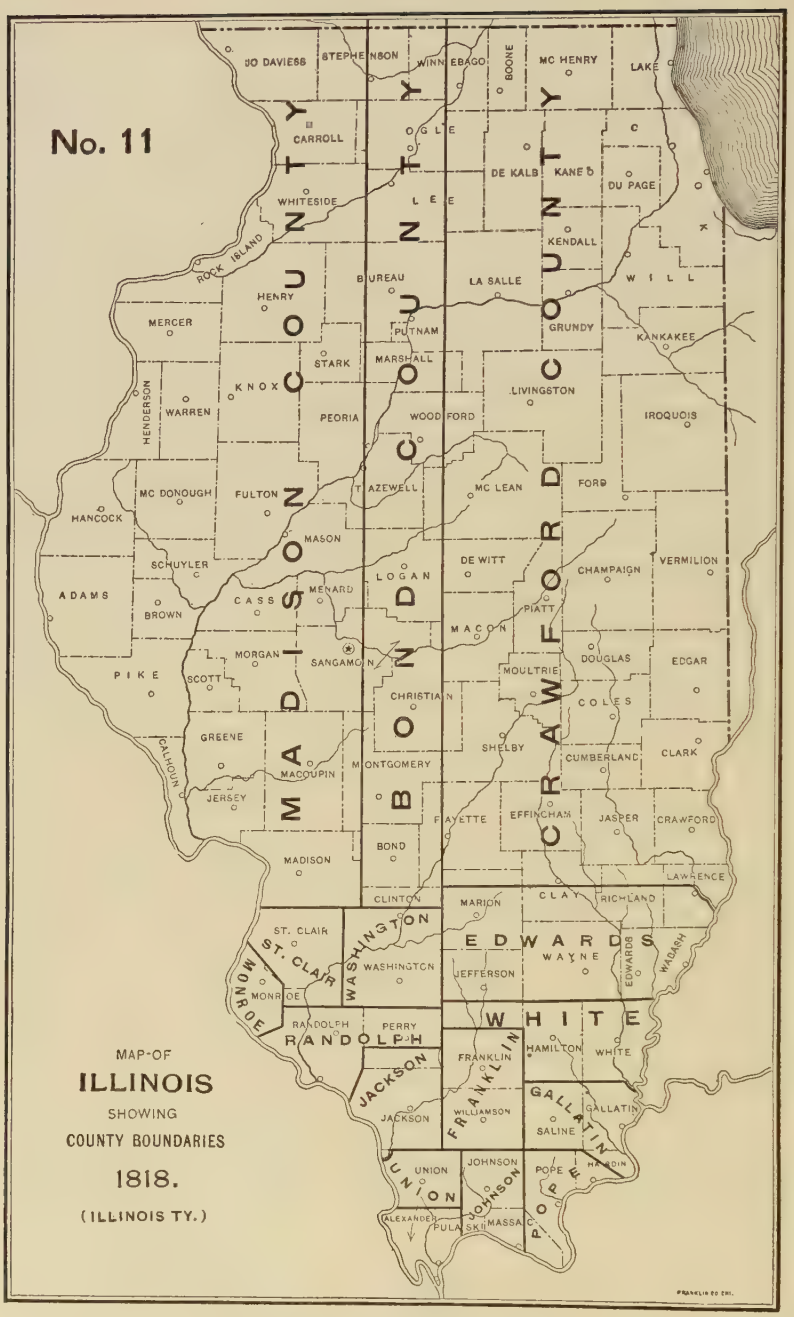
Mr. Pope offered this amendment or change in the northern boundary line. He offered his reasons in a short speech reported in the Debates in Congress, Volume VI, page 173. They may be stated in brief as follows:

1. The object of the change was to gain a certain amount of lake coast for the State of Illinois.

2. This change would afford additional security to the perpetuity of the Union, inasmuch as Illinois would (by this change in the boundary) be connected (in commerce) with Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York.

3. The facility of opening a canal between the lake and the headwaters of the Illinois River has been acknowledged by all who have taken the trouble to make a superficial survey. The canal should lie and have both terminals in the same state. This could not be possible with the boundary as reported by the special committee.

4. Mr. Pope also argued if Illinois could not have a lake port her commerce would seek its outlet through the Mississippi River and this would naturally attach the state to the southern



THE FIFTEEN COUNTIES IN ILLINOIS WHEN ILLINOIS WAS ADMITTED INTO THE UNION IN 1818

states. In case, therefore, of a national disruption Illinois would cast her fortunes with the south rather than with the north.

There seems to have been no objection to this change in the boundary which gave to Illinois Chicago and the mouth of Chicago River. The amendment was adopted without division. Mr. Pope came forward with another amendment. The original draft as presented to Congress by the special committee provided that a gift of five per cent of the income from the sale of public lands within the limits of the state should be given over to the state which should use it for the construction of roads within the state. Similar provisions were found in the Ohio, the Indiana, and the Mississippi enabling acts. But Mr. Pope believed that the money which the Government was willing to give Illinois from the sale of public lands could be better spent than for public roads. His investigations had shown that the money given to the other states named had been wasted. That the state could not make so good use of this money as the general government, so his amendment provided that the general government should use two of the five per cent for the purpose of building roads leading to the state, and that three of the five per cent should be administered for the cause of education. One-sixth of the three per cent or one-half of one per cent should be set aside for the purpose of founding and maintaining a college or university. He argued that the universally acknowledged need in a republic was education, and that there were slight resources in a new country that could be immediately converted into the agencies of popular education. In addition Mr. Pope pointed out that in Illinois the problem of road building was not a serious one since the surfaces were generally level. He thought the people would build roads as fast as they were needed, but were not situated so as to maintain efficient systems of education. The motion to divert 3 per cent of the income from the sale of public lands in Illinois to educational purposes and 2 per cent to the building of roads leading to the state passed without division. Other minor amendments were agreed to by the committee of the whole and the committee arose.

This consideration of the enabling act took place in committee of the whole on April 3, 1818. When the committee arose the matter was reported to the House and after a few minor changes the bill was ordered engrossed as amended, read a third time, and passed April 6. It was then sent to the Senate. The bill was referred to the committee on public lands. The committee offered minor amendments and reported the bill to the Senate. On the 13th of April, the bill was discussed in committee of the whole. The only serious objection was to the assumption by the petitioners that there were upwards of 40,000 people in the Illinois Territory. It was eventually reported to the Senate which added a few amendments after which it was

agreed to in conference, passed by the Senate, and signed by the President April 18, 1818.

Some Features of the Act

A brief analysis of the several sections composing the Enabling Act will be given.

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., That the inhabitants of the Territory of Illinois be, and they are hereby authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper; and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union upon the same footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever.

Section 2. This section bounds the territory which shall lie in the jurisdiction of the state when formed. This boundary is quoted in full on a preceding page, and need not be repeated here. The boundaries of the proposed state shall be ratified by the convention. "The said state shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the State of Indiana on the Wabash River, so far as said river shall form a common boundary to both, and also concurrent jurisdiction on the Mississippi River, with any state or states to be formed west thereof, so far as said river shall form a common boundary to both."

Section 3. This section determined the qualifications of those who should choose delegates to the constitutional convention. The requirements were: White male citizens of the United States; a residence in the territory of six months, in addition any other requirements necessary to vote for a member of the Territorial Legislature. These properly qualified electors were authorized to elect delegates from their respective counties as follows:

From Bond	3 delegates	From Franklin	2 delegates
From Madison	3 delegates	From Pope	3 delegates
From St. Clair	3 delegates	From Gallatin	2 delegates
From Monroe	2 delegates	From White	2 delegates
From Randolph	2 delegates	From Edwards	2 delegates
From Jackson	2 delegates	From Crawford	2 delegates
From Johnson	2 delegates	From Union	2 delegates
From Washington	2 delegates		
		Total	33 delegates

The election of delegates from the several counties shall be held on the first Monday in July, 1818, and the two following days. The election shall be held in the same form and under the same authority as regular elections in the territory.

Section 4. The duly elected members of the convention were authorized to meet at the seat of government of the said territory on the first Monday in August, 1818, and proceed to determine, by a majority of the whole number of delegates elected whether it is, or is not, expedient to proceed with the work of

forming a constitution and a state government. If a majority say it is expedient, they shall proceed with the making of the constitution: provided the said constitution shall be republican in form and not repugnant to the ordinance passed by the Congress the 13th of July, 1787—except as to the boundary of the said proposed state. And, provided further, that the enumeration heretofore ordered to be taken by the Legislature of said territory shall show a population of the proposed state of not less than 40,000 inhabitants.

Section 5. "And be it further enacted, That until the next general census shall be taken, the said state shall be entitled to one representative in the House of Representatives of the United States."

Section 6. The following propositions were offered the convention which if accepted by that body, they shall be binding on the United States and the State of Illinois.

First. Section numbered 16 in each township or its equivalent shall be granted to the state, for the use of the inhabitants of such township, for the use of schools.

Second. All salt springs within the state, together with the lands reserved for the use of the same shall be granted to the said state, for the use of the said state according as the wisdom of the Legislature of the said state shall determine. Provided the Legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer period than ten years at any one time.

Third. Five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sale of the lands lying within the proposed state, which shall be sold by Congress, shall be reserved and disposed of as follows: Two-fifths shall be held and disposed of by Congress for the construction of roads leading to the state. The other three-fifths shall be used by the state for the benefit of the schools when organized —one-sixth part of the three per cent. shall be applied to the founding and maintaining of a college or university.

Fourth. One entire township or thirty-six sections shall be set aside by the President of the United States together with one previously set aside (in the Ordinance of 1787) for the purposes of a seminary of learning. The State Legislature shall hold this land in trust to be administered by the State Legislature.

All these gifts with the understanding that all tracts of land sold after January 1, 1819, by the United States, lying within the State of Illinois, shall be exempt from taxation of any form for a term of five years from the date of the sale. And that all bounty lands granted for military services when held by the patentee or his heirs, shall be exempt from taxation for a period of three years from the date of the patent. Again, all lands in Illinois held by citizens of the United States and residing without the said state shall not be taxed higher than lands belonging to citizens residing within the state.

Section 7. All lands lying north of Indiana, and all lands lying north of northern boundary of Illinois, as fixed by this act, shall be organized into and become the Michigan Territory.

Commercial Possibilities

The enabling act was signed by the President April 18, 1818. The news must have reached Kaskaskia within the next thirty days—at least by May 20. This was surely a time of great rejoicing at least on the part of those who had worked so hard and so faithfully in furthering the project of admission. Of course the intelligencer was in close touch with Mr. Pope and was fully informed as to the progress of the enabling act as it worked its way through special House committee, committee of the whole of the House, the House itself, and then in the Senate it must run the gauntlet in the committee on public lands, the committee of the whole of the Senate, and finally in the Senate itself.

The champion of the bill in the House was of course Mr. Pope, but he had warm supporters in the members of the special committee who served with him—Mr. Claiborne of Tennessee, Mr. Johnson of Kentucky, Mr. Spencer of New York, and Mr. Whitman of Massachusetts. Mr. Johnson of Kentucky was an especial friend of Edwards and Pope, and being a near neighbor he desired to see the young commonwealth prosper. In the Senate Mr. Tait of Georgia professed friendship for the bill, but was not at all convinced that the population in the territory would reach the forty thousand mark as the petitioners for statehood has so confidently assured Congress it would do. He desired to defer the consideration of the bill, but the friends of the bill—Senators Morrow of Ohio, Talbot of Kentucky and Barbour of Virginia—all professed the greatest confidence in the judgment of the Territorial Legislature of Illinois who had stated in their petition that there were not less than forty thousand inhabitants within the limits of the proposed new state.

The news of the final passage of the bill and of the President's signature thereto reached Kaskaskia, and was published in the Intelligencer on May 20, 1818. The rapid movement of the bill through the House and Senate, its intelligent support by Mr. Pope and other members of Congress from the western and southern states, the wide discussion of the location, geography, resources, and adaptation to agriculture and commerce, centered the public mind upon Illinois as had been the case in the admission of no other state into the Union. Particularly had Mr. Pope's discussion in favor of the northward extension of the northern boundary attracted the attention of public men in Pennsylvania, New York and all New England. He had shown what wonderful possibilities there were in an all water route from the

embryonic port of Chicago to the greatest port on the Atlantic. At this time the Erie Canal was well along in its stages of construction. It had been chartered in 1817 and was being pushed toward completion. The whole east was aflame with the prospects of an enlarged trade with the west. A traveler through the west at this time comments upon the evidences of luxury ghanies. But the transporting of these evidences into the west- and refinement which he found in the region west of the Allegern country from the ports of entry on the Atlantic coast was a costly undertaking. Freight rates from the Atlantic coast to Pittsburg and Cincinnati were from one hundred twenty-five to one hundred fifty dollars per ton. "Most of this stock was transported over the mountains from Philadelphia or Baltimore. In 1820, three thousand wagons carried to Pittsburg, the distributing center of the West, nearly eighteen million dollars' worth of merchandise." The commercial interests of the East were quick to see the dream of Mr. Pope of opening an all water route from New York City to the prospective City of Chicago, via the Hudson River, the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes. Mr. Pope in his letters to Mr. Cook the editor of Intelligencer stated that the rapid movement of the bill and the discussions had awakened great interest in the East about the new West. He thought there would be an increasing emigration to Illinois within the next two or three years. His good judgment is shown when we consider the census reports of 1810, 1820, and the census taken by the territorial authority in the summer of 1818. The census of 1810 showed 12,282 people in Illinois. In 1820 the federal census showed 55,162, an increase of 42,000, or an increase of more than 350 per cent. in ten years. The population taken in the summer of 1818 showed 34,610. This gives a gain in two years, from 1818 to 1820, of 20,552 or an increase in per cent. of nearly sixty in two years. In 1830 the census returns gave Illinois 157,445, again from 1818 to 1830 of 123,000 (nearly), or an increase in twelve years of nearly 362 per cent.

Mr. Cook felt so jubilant over the success of his efforts that he changed the name of his paper from the Western Intelligencer to the Illinois Herald, 1814-1816. The paper then became the Western Intelligencer, 1816-1818. It now became the Illinois Intelligencer.

Electing Delegates

The election of delegates to the constitutional convention must take place, according to the enabling act, on the first Monday in July and the two following days. This would give a portion of May and all of June for the canvass of the candidates and the discussion of the measures which should be incorporated in the new constitution. But the people did not wait for the passage of the act, but took it for granted that it would be passed, and

began to discuss the public questions quite early in the spring of 1818. The method of discussion was chiefly through the Intelligencer, though there were some public discussions and private conversations. Among the questions which attracted most attention was, of course, that of slavery. Other questions were the expediency or inexpediency of deferring the making of the constitution for at least a year; the question whether the old pioneers should be elected or whether the new comers should sit in the convention; the equalization of taxes; shall lawyers be elected delegates; and shall ministers sit in the convention.

On the question of slavery there were three positions—One group was for a constitution which would permit slavery just as would be found in any slave state. One group was bitterly opposed to slavery in any form and would do all in their power to prevent a slave clause from being incorporated in the constitution. A third group was indifferent to the slavery question They were apparently not concerned about slavery or the indenture system.

Mr. Cook who was still connected with the Intelligencer opened the campaign as early as April, 1818, by an article signed "A republican." In this article he took strong grounds against slavery. He said the pro-slavery people say that a constitution recognizing slavery would greatly stimulate immigration, but he said we know that the emigration from the eastern and northern state has been and will continue to be far greater than that from the slave states. He also called attention to the fact that the Ordinance of 1787 forbids it. The paper editorially tried to steer between the rocks by saying, "Whatever the people shall dispassionately say on the subject, we will acquiesce in without a murmur, and for that purpose we invite investigation. Our columns will be open as well to the friends of the measure, as to the opponents."

A writer signing his name "Caution," and purporting to live on Silver Creek, St. Clair County, was an extreme opponent of slavery.

A writer from St. Clair County warned the people not to put too much confidence in the prohibitions of slavery found in the ordinance, but told them that these prohibitions were only valid so long as Illinois was a territory.

One of the most polished and forceful statements of the anti-slavery side of the discussion was presented by a writer who signed his name "Agis." The identity was never fully established but from the ease with which he directs his thoughts through a long contribution to the Intelligencer, the writer was supposed to be Edward Coles who at that time was temporarily residing in Illinois keeping his eye on the turn things might take in the matter of slavery in the constitution.

Other writers contributed articles for the Intelligencer usually condemning the proposition to make Illinois a slave state. The pro-slavery men were too shrewd to enter into a newspaper war in defense of that "peculiar institution." They were satisfied to talk their side in the gatherings and in public places.

Expedient or Inexpedient

A clause, Section 4, in the enabling act provided that the members of the convention when first assembled should take a vote to determine the expediency or the inexpediency of forming a constitution at the time, August, 1818, set in the act. If a majority decide it inexpedient to form a constitution at this time, they should call another election of delegates for a convention at a future time. But if they vote by a majority to proceed with the work in hand, then they shall frame the constitution and submit it to the Congress. This gave some timid people a cue, and upon it they argued for a postponement of the convention till 1819. Their reasons were that it was doubtful whether the territory had the 40,000 required in the enabling act. They were also hoping that in some way or other the slavery question would solve itself by that time. Their argument was met by those who were ready to face their duty by saying that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush. Now was the time to rid the people of the unbearable ills of territorial government.

Another question was freely discussed—Shall the constitution be written by the older set who had redeemed the lands, or by the young lawyers who had flocked into the territory and had not borne any of the heat or the burden of the day. Some of these went so far as to express some doubt as to the ability of most of the men to write a constitution. They doubted a "sufficiency of men of talents and political experience to form a constitution." There was a very strong dislike among the older settlers against the flock of young lawyers who had in the past two decades come into the territory. At the same time there was some doubt expressed about the propriety of choosing ministers to sit in the convention. There were many other minor matters which were discussed as to the fitness of men to sit in the convention.

Who's Who Among the Delegates

As the day approached for the selection of delegates to the convention the issues which had been before the public for the past year gradually faded away and the personality of the candidates constituted the big factor in making the selection. Some of the delegates selected were men of high standing in the territory while little is known of some. The reader might wish to know

who served in the convention and what other service he had rendered earlier and what later. The following is a list of the selected delegates. The counties are listed in the order of their age. There were fifteen counties in the Territory of Illinois in 1818, and the enabling act assigned to three counties three delegates each, namely: St. Clair, Madison, and Gallatin. To each of the other twelve counties, two delegates each, making in all thirty-three delegates.

St. Clair County. St. Clair County is the oldest county in the state, and it had the distinction of furnishing the most conspicuous member in the person of the president of the convention. Its three delegates were:

Jesse Burgess Thomas, a native of Maryland, descendant of Lord Baltimore, attorney, speaker of the Indiana Legislature (Lower House), delegate in Congress securing separation of Illinois from Indiana Territory, one of three federal judges of Illinois Territory, President of the Constitutional Convention, United States Senator, and author of Missouri Compromise, died at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, 1853.

James Lemen, Jr., native born, Baptist minister, of a very noted family, second American white born in Illinois, anti-slavery worker, his father in "pact" with Jefferson.

John Messenger, pioneer, surveyor, mill-wright, teacher of Mathematics in Rock Springs seminary, author, served in Indiana Territorial Legislature, speaker of first general assembly, died near Belleville, 1846, a very scholarly gentleman.

Randolph County contained the capital of the territory, the town of Kaskaskia, the most historic town in early history of Illinois. It furnished the delegate who had more to do in formulating the constitution than any other man.

Elias Kent Kane, graduate of Yale University, came to Kaskaskia at twenty years of age, great orator, judge of Eastern District of Illinois, is said to have written much of the constitution before the meeting of the convention, United States Senator, cousin of Chancellor Kent, and a relative of Elisha Kent Kane, the Arctic explorer.

George Fisher, doctor, surgeon in Stephenson's brigade in War of 1812, first sheriff of Randolph county, served in Indiana Territorial Legislature, speaker in Illinois Territorial Legislature, helped to organize first Masonic lodge in Illinois, 1806, said to have been most eminent physician in Illinois at that time.

Madison County. At the time of the convention this county included the west part of the state—everything north of the present north line of St. Clair and west of a meridian a little east of Springfield. It was the largest county in area and in population—6,303.

Benjamin Stephenson reached Illinois in 1809, the first sheriff of Randolph County, was a colonel in the War of 1812, dele-

gate in Congress, receiver of public moneys at Edwardsville, assisted Auguste Chouteau in treaty with Kickapoos, was a faithful public servant.

Abraham Prickett a pioneer from Kentucky in 1809 was a druggist, lived in Edwardsville, served in the first general assembly, postmaster at Edwardsville, traded with Indians in Quincy, took government contracts.

Joseph Borough was a private in early part of War of 1812. Later was lieutenant in ranger company, served in Lower and Upper Houses in general assemblies.

Gallatin County contained the United States salines and Shawneetown, a ferry across the Ohio gave Shawneetown much importance.

Leonard White a gallant soldier in War of 1812, a lessee of the salt works, major in the 4th regiment, later Senator in second general assembly, government agent at United States Salines, White County named in his honor.

Adolphus Frederick Hubbard was an early comer to Shawneetown; he was a lawyer, pro-slavery, member general assembly, lieutenant-governer 1822-1826, candidate for governor in 1826.

Michael Jones came to Kaskaskia 1804, register of land office, pro-slavery, excitable and passionate, colonel in War of 1812, member third general assembly.

Johnson County at that time included part of Pulaski and part of Massac, Elvira was the county seat, Fort Massac was the most noted place in the county, smallest of the counties in population 767.

William McFatridge has left very little behind him which his friends have made a matter of history, served in the Legislature of 1822-24.

Hezekiah West was an early pioneer but little is known of him.

Edwards County included all or parts of eight counties from the third principal meridian to the Wabash. This county included the famous "Marine Settlement," or the English settlements. The coming figure of this county was Morris Birkbeck, a vigorous opponent of slavery.

Seth Gard, the county's first judge, served in Territorial Legislature from 1815 to 1818, he helped to found the Town of Palmyra which must have disappeared from the map.

Levi Compton was a native of Virginia, was perhaps the first permanent settler in Wabash County, was a large slave owner in Kentucky, but was an anti-slavery supporter, built a fort in 1804 called Compton's fort, was county treasurer 1815-1819, an important man in his day.

White County included, White, Hamilton and north part of Franklin.

Willis Hargrave was a newcomer, and an open advocate of slavery, was county commissioner in 1818, captain in War of

1812, inspector of the United States salines at Equality, he was "efficient and active in the defense of the country in War of 1812."

William McHenry came from Kentucky to White County in 1809, was captain in War of 1812, later served in Black Hawk war, served in both lower and upper houses of state Legislature, McHenry County was named in his honor.

Monroe County had a population in 1818 of 1,517 souls. New Design, the home of the Lemens, was famous far and near, Bellefontaine, Harrisville and the Renault Grant made Monroe known. The Moores, Piggotts, Lemens and Whitesides were household names in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Caldwell Cairns was a doctor of wide renown, he came in 1800 from Pennsylvania, was fond of agriculture, lived in the "Bottoms," was a justice of the peace, he was an active member of the convention, was the father-in-law of Gen. James Semple.

Enoch Moore was born in the old block house at Bellefontaine, 1782, one of the first American children born in Illinois, was a ranger, clerk of the court, judge, member of the second general assembly, died 1848.

Pope County lay on the Ohio River and contained a ferry prior to 1800, it was the crossing point for immigrants from Tennessee and western Kentucky, it had 2,069 inhabitants in 1818, in 1820, 2,610. Good trails led from Golconda to Kaskaskia.

Samuel O'Melveny engaged in the flat-boat business on the Ohio and the Mississippi, a popular Irishman, was county treasurer of Pope in 1816, later removed to Randolph County, held seat in general assembly from Union County in 1820-22.

Hamlet Ferguson has left no record behind. Reynolds says he filled various offices and sat in the Constitutional Convention. Hamlet Ferguson is listed as a major in the Third Regiment, Illinois Militia, Col. Isaac White commanding.

Jackson County has been the scene of much Illinois history. Conrad Will brought this county before the public in several ways. So did John A. Logan.

Conrad Will was a native of Pennsylvania, a physician by profession, a tanner, a manufacturer of salt, county commissioner, member of Constitutional Convention. Served many years in the General Assembly.

James Hall, Jr. There seems to be no record of Mr. Hall as a private citizen or as a public servant. It is reported he was one of the five lawyers in the convention.

Crawford County lay along the east side of the state north of the parallel of Olney and east of the meridian of Vandalia. Its population was chiefly in the southeast corner. It contained about one-third of the area of the state.

Edward N. Cullom was a prominent early settler from Kentucky, was a large land owner, built flat-boats and marketed

his produce in New Orleans, bought more land and became rich, lost it all in helping his friends.

Joseph Kitchell lived near the old Town of Palestine, his brother was an attorney-general of Illinois, Joseph was a prominent lawyer, his father-in-law was a Revolutionary soldier, served in Territorial Legislature, his nephew, J. W. Kitchell of Pana, gave the state the only known copy of the Journal of Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention.

Bond County was a long, narrow strip reaching from the present Bond County to the north line of the state. The strip was a little wider than the present county. Its population was mostly in the south portion.

Thomas Kirkpatrick lived near the present City of Greenville, was among the first commissioners, he was a first lieutenant in the Edwardsville Militia, built a flouring and saw mills, his home was the county seat a short time for Madison County, in 1812.

Samuel G. Morse was also an early settler in Bond County. He was the first sheriff, was a singing teacher.

Union County included also what is now Alexander County, seems not to have sent its most prominent people to the convention.

William Eckols has left no history of himself and did not take a very important part in the convention, seems to have been against slavery and that is to his credit.

John Whittaker was the other delegate, an early settler, member of grand jury in 1818, served in General Assembly in 1824-26.

Washington County was west of Edwards, and east of St. Clair there were some German families in this county as early as 1818.

Andrew Bankson was a very active member of the convention, lived first in St. Clair County, and later in Washington, was colonel in militia, served in General Assembly, was anti-slavery.

John K. Mangham was the colleague of Mr. Bankson, was delayed one day in reaching convention, died Tuesday, August 11, 1818.

Franklin County included also what is now Williamson County. It was the last county created prior to the convention.

Thomas Roberts was an early settler, held several military offices, seemed to be anti-slavery, moved to Union County and elected to the General Assembly.

Isham Harrison has not left any record behind him. He was elected probably because there was not many aspirants from the county as this county was the last county organized prior to the convention.

The convention was due to assemble Monday, August 3, 1818.

On that day all the delegates appeared except the two from Jackson County and the two from Washington. Jesse B. Thomas was made the permanent chairman, William C. Greenup was made the permanent secretary, and Ezra Owen was chosen sergeant-at-arms.

Occupations

It will be found very interesting and profitable to recall the composition of the convention relative to the occupations of the delegates. It has been generally thought that the men who made the constitution were men who had had little training in political life, that they were mostly farmers and hunters, woodsmen and Indian fighters. There were such men in the convention. They were men with a world of experience and experience is very valuable. But there were men of large caliber in the convention, lawyers, doctors, business men, men who were quite familiar with constitutional government as it had been worked out in the older American states. There were men who had attended the best colleges of that day and were familiar with the best political theories of the times. And more than all, these men knew what they wanted and what they needed and were frank in expressing their wants and needs in the fundamental law of the state which their sacrifices had founded.

In making the following classification the farmer group may seem large in comparison with the other groups, but many of these farmers were also engaged in other lines of work.

Lawyers and Judges

Jesse B. Thomas
Elias K. Kane
James Hall
Adolphus F. Hubbard
Joseph Kitchell

Officials

Benj. Stephenson
Michael Jones
Willis Hargrave
Wm. McHenry
Enoch Moore

Doctors

Caldwell Cairns
George Fisher
Conrad Will

Manufacturers

*Jesse B. Thomas
*Conrad Will
Thos. Kirkpatrick
Leonard White

Teachers

Samuel G. Moore
John Messenger

Ministers

James Lemen, Jr.

Merchant

Abraham Prickett

Farmers, Etc.

Levi Compton
Joseph Borough
Seth Gard
Andrew Bankson
*Enoch Moore
Wm. McFatridge
Hezekiah West
*Caldwell Cairn
*John Whittaker

Wm. Echols
John K. Mangham
Samuel O'Melveny
Hamlet Ferguson
Thomas Roberts
Isham Harrison
Edward N. Cullom

*Counted second time

Military Service

It is a matter of pride too, to all of us that we find that so many of these delegates were loyal Americans. The following is the record of military service so far as we have been able to find it. This service was chiefly in the War of 1812, though in one or two instances it was later.

Colonels—Benjamin Stephenson, Andrew Bankson, Michael Jones.

Majors—Wm. McHenry, Willis Hargrave, Leonard White.

Captains—Hamlet Ferguson, Thomas Roberts, Enoch Fisher.

Surgeon—George Fisher.

First Lieutenants—Thomas Kirkpatrick, Joseph Borough.

Ensign—John Whittaker.

There can be no doubt that many of the convention men not enumerated as officers took an active part in the defense of their communities, in building forts and blockhouses, and in guarding the most exposed posts of the country while the war was in progress.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CONVENTION

JOURNAL—POPULATION—DEATH OF MR. MANGHAM—APPORTIONMENT—THE CAPITAL—BILL OF RIGHTS—THE CONSTITUTION—ELECTION

The Enabling Act designated the first Monday in August as the day on which the convention should meet. On that day the delegates from thirteen of the counties appeared with certificates of their election.

JOURNAL OF THE CONVENTION

Monday, August 3, 1818

At a convention begun and held at the Town of Kaskaskia on Monday the third day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, for the purpose of forming a constitution and state government pursuant to the Act of Congress passed on the 18th of April, 1818, entitled "An Act to enable the people of the Illinois Territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states." A majority of representatives (delegates) appearing, Jesse B. Thomas was chosen president, I. V. W. Varick, secretary, and Ezra Owen, door-keeper, pro tem.

The roll of the delegates from the several counties was then called and twenty-nine answered to their names. The delegates from Jackson, Conrad Will and James Hall, Jr., and Andrew Bankson and John K. Mangham from Washington did not report until Tuesday, August 3d. It was now ordered that the convention proceed to the election of permanent officers, whereupon Jesse B. Thomas was elected president, William G. Greenup, secretary, and Ezra Owen, sergeant-at-arms. The president made a very short inaugural address. A committee of three, Messrs. Kane, Stephenson and Hargrave, was appointed to examine the credentials of the members of the convention; another committee of three, Messrs. Messenger, Fisher and Cullom, was appointed to formulate a set of rules which should govern the deliberations of the convention during the session; and still another committee of three to secure the services of a minister of the Gospel who should open the session on the morrow with prayer. Messrs. Moore, Gard and Hubbard were named and they secured the services of the Rev. Mr. Mitchell who opened

the session on August the 4th with prayer. Dr. John Snyder says that this one prayer seems to have been considered sufficient for the entire sitting of the convention, as there is no record of there having been any more prayers offered.

Tuesday, August 4, 1818

On the second day at 9 o'clock the session opened. The delegates from Jackson and Washington counties presented their certificates of election and were sworn in. On motion a committee of three, Kane, Kitchell and Cairns, was named to examine the returns of the census as made to the secretary of the territory and report to the convention. There was one census enumerator appointed in each county and the returns were to be made to the office of the secretary of the territory.

POPULATION

Wednesday, August 5, 1818

On Wednesday, August 5th, the Committee on Credentials reported that the sitting members were all entitled to serve in the convention from the several counties. Mr. Kane from the committee on the census returns in the office of the secretary of the territory made the following report:

From the County of Bond	1,398
From the County of Madison	6,303
From the County of St. Clair	5,039
From the County of Washington	1,819
From the County of Monroe	1,517
From the County of Randolph	2,974
From the County of Jackson	1,619
From the County of Johnson	767
From the County of Union	2,709
From the County of Pope	2,069
From the County of Franklin	1,281
From the County of Gallatin	3,849
From the County of White	3,832
From the County of Edwards	2,243
From the County of Crawford	2,839
Total	40,258

The report from the secretary's office was accepted as the population of the Territory of Illinois and authority to make a constitution was assumed as provided by the Enabling Act. A set of rules governing the conduct of business during the sessions was adopted.

The Enabling Act contained a rather queer proposition; it was this. The convention should upon assembling determine by a majority vote whether in the judgment of the convention it was or was not expedient to proceed with the making of a consti-

tution at this time. It probably was the thought in the minds of Congress that if, when the convention assembled, it should turn out that there were actually fewer than 40,000 inhabitants in the territory, there might be the general feeling that it would be better to wait till the summer of 1819 to proceed with the work of constitution making. Now that the report showed that there were more than forty thousand inhabitants there were few who felt they would be justified in deferring the work of making a constitution. Upon taking a vote on the question of expediency, it was determined affirmatively. The records do not give the vote and it is not known just how strong the sentiment in favor of deferring the making the constitution was.

A committee of fifteen, one from each county, was appointed to frame and report to the convention a constitution for the people of the Illinois Territory. The committee named was: White, Kane, Prickett, Lemen, Cairns, Cullom, Hargrave, Compton, Roberts, Kirkpatrick, Bankson, Hall, West, Eckols and O'Melveny. A committee was appointed to contract with Messrs. Berry and Blackwell for the printing of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention. Berry and Blackwell were at that time editors and proprietors of the Intelligencer the only paper published in Illinois at the time. (The Illinois Immigrant was founded in the summer of 1818. It was published at Shawneetown by Henry Eddy and Peter Kimmel.)

Thursday, August 6, 1818

The convention met at 9 o'clock. The convention proceeded to consider the report of the committee on rules for the government of procedure in the work of the convention. These were in general such rules as might be found in any hand book on parliamentary procedure. A few interesting rules will be given: "In case of any disturbance as disorderly conduct in the galleries or lobby, the president shall have power to order the same to be cleared." Just what building in Kaskaskia had a gallery or a lobby is a question no one has been able to answer.

"No person shall be permitted to smoke tobacco in the convention while in session.

"There shall be no reading of newspapers or any other documents, that do not immediately concern the business for which we are convened."

The Committee on Printing was ordered to have thirty-three copies of the rules printed at expense of the individual members, and thirty-three copies of the constitution when completed at public expense. Several minor motions were made and all deferred to the morrow. On motion of Mr. Kitchell the Committee on Printing was ordered to contract for the printing of 500 copies of the proceedings of the convention. The vote on this motion was deferred till the morrow.

Friday, August 7, 1818

The motion to order 500 copies of the proceedings printed was decided in the negative.

On this day a very important matter came before the convention. "Mr. Kane presented two petitions signed by sundry inhabitants of Randolph County, one praying that this convention shall declare in the constitution to be formed that the moral law is the basis of its structure, and acknowledge therein an universal parent." The other praying that this convention may declare the scriptures to be the word of God, and that the constitution is founded upon the same; which said petitions were received and read. They were referred to a committee which never reported. This group of people that presented these petitions were known as covenanter Presbyterians and were under the leadership of the Rev. Samuel Wiley.

Saturday, August 8, 1818

There was no business transacted this day, and the convention adjourned till Monday, August 10, 9 o'clock, a. m.

Monday, August 10, 1818

Mr. Cullom obtained leave to lay before the convention a draft of additional rules for the regulation of the work of the convention. They were laid on the table till the morrow. The convention then adjourned till Tuesday, August 11, 9 o'clock, a. m.

Death of Mr. Mangham

Tuesday, August 11, 1818

Upon the assembling of the convention, Mr. Bankson of Washington County, announced the death of his colleague, Mr. John K. Mangham, at 1 o'clock a. m., of that day. A committee, Messrs. White, Bankson and Morse, was appointed to have charge of the funeral services, and the convention adjourned to the morrow.

Wednesday, August 12, 1818

A motion to adopt additional rules for the convention was lost. Mr. Kitchell from the Committee on Printing, presented the offer of the public printers, Blackwell and Berry for printign and binding copies of the Journal of the convention. It was as follows:

For composing each page	$1.00
Twenty quires paper	6.00
Press work	1.00
Folding and stitching	.06

On motion 500 copies of the constitution were ordered printed.

Mr. White, chairman of the committee of fifteen appointed to present a draft of the constitution as prepared by the committee reported. The draft in manuscript form was then laid on the secretary's table, and later was read.

The document consisted of:

A preamble.

Article 1 with two sections separating the powers into three distinct parts.

Article 2 with thirty-five sections vests the legislative authority in a General Assembly consisting of two houses, an upper or senate, and a lower or house of representatives.

Article 3 with sixteen sections vests the executive power in the governor.

Article 4 with eight sections vests the judicial power in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Legislature shall, from time to time, order and establish.

Article 5 with five sections creates the militia of the state and deals with its organization.

Article 6 with one section says: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted," etc.

Article 7 with one section provides for amending the constitution.

Article 8 with twenty-two sections constitutes the Bill of Rights.

An ordinance accepting the propositions, made by the Congress in the Enabling Act, in the form of gifts to the state as follows:

First. Section numbered 16 in every township for the benefit of the schools of that township.

Second. All salt springs within the state and the reservations of land attached thereto to be held by the state but not to be sold without the consent of Congress.

Third. Five per cent of the income from the sale of public lands within the state to be used—2 per cent of such sales to be expended by the general government for the construction of roads leading to the state and 3 per cent to be used by the state for educational purposes.

Fourth. The gift of an entire township to be used in founding a seminary of learning.

To these acceptances there was attached a pledge that the state would exempt from taxation for a period of five years all public lands in Illinois sold after January 1, 1819. And furthermore that lands owned by non-residenters shall never be taxed higher than lands owned by those living in the state.

Thursday, August 13, 1818

On this day of the work of modifying and changing the constitution as handed in by the committee, began. On motion Articles 1 and 2 and the first seven sections of Article 3 were taken up for discussion. Article 1 was accepted with one slight change in each of its two sections. Article 2 was adopted with changes in Section 18 as to salaries of the state officers. Slight changes in other sections. Section 35, which dealt with the organizing of new counties and put limitations on the removal of the capital of the state was struck out entirely. Article 3, the first seven sections were accepted with the filling in of the proper blanks as to length of terms, length of residence, etc.

Friday, August 14, 1818

The convention declined to order an election to fill the place made vacant by the death of delegate John K. Mangham. The thought was that a new member could not be elected and seated before most of the work of the convention would be done. Sections 8, 9, 10, of Article 3 were adopted. Section 11 provided that the sheriff and coroner should be elected by the qualified voters in each county for a period of two years. Those were the only county officers the people might vote for. Section 15 of Article 3 makes the governor and the Supreme Court a sort of reviewing body on laws. Bills passing the two houses are presented to the governor with the Supreme Court shall ratify or reject all bills.

Article 4 was adopted with little or no objection. Articles 5 and 7 and part of 8 were adopted with slight changes. Article 6 was reserved for further discussion.

APPORTIONMENT

Saturday, August 15, 1818

The balance of Article 8 and the ordinance were adopted. A committee of five was appointed to consider whether there were other articles which should be added to the constitution. The members of this committee were Kitchell, Hubbard, Borough, Fisher, Messenger. The convention then adjourned till 2 o'clock that afternoon.

Mr. Hubbard offered a scheme of apportionment of members of the General Assembly, and also suggested dates for the elections, etc. The following apportionment of members followed the third reading:

Madison County_____1 senator, 3 representatives
Bond County_____1 senator, 1 representative
Washington County___1 senator, 1 representative
St. Clair County_____1 senator, 3 representatives
Monroe County_____1 senator, 1 representative

Randolph County_____1 senator, 2 representatives
Jackson County_____1 senator, 1 representative
Union County_____1 senator, 2 representatives
Pope County_____1 senator, 2 representatives
Johnson County_____1 senator, 1 representative
Franklin County_____1 senator, 1 representative
Gallatin County_____1 senator, 3 representatives
White County_____1 senator, 3 representatives
Edwards County_____1 senator, 2 representatives
Crawford County_____1 senator, 2 representatives
Total—14 senators, 28 representatives.

The committee recommended that the dates of elections remain the same as they now are under the territorial laws.

The report was received, read, and adopted, and the convention adjourned till Monday, next, at 9 o'clock.

Monday, August 17, 1818

The convention had now gone over the draft of the constitution and had made changes here and there with the exception of Article 6 which was the article dealing with slavery. It was now ordered that the convention go over the entire draft section by section for second reading. This the convention did. The most important change occurred in Section 15 in Article 3. In the original draft the veto power was located in the governor and the Supreme Court. In the first reading, the section was changed and the power was given to the governor alone, but in the second reading the convention reverted to the original draft. This provided that when bills have passed both houses they shall be presented to the governor who together with the Supreme Court shall constitute a council of revision who shall pass upon the proposed law. If a majority of the council shall deem the law worthy they may sign it, and if the majority deem it improper they shall veto it. The article provided that the two houses should have the right to pass the bill over the veto, but the vote need be only a majority of those elected to each house. Articles 4 and 5 were adopted on this day.

Tuesday, August 18, 1818

On this day the section providing for apportionment of senators and representatives was put in final form as found under date of Saturday, August 15th. Then the sixth article was taken up and the first lines changed to read "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall be introduced into this state otherwise than for the punishment of crimes," etc. A second section was added providing that no person bound to labor in any other state shall be hired to labor in this state except within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawneetown, nor there for a longer period than one year. When the motion was put

in the second reading of Section 1, Article 6, the vote stood as follows:

For the adoption—Borough, Cairns, Cullom, Fisher, Hall, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kitchell, Messenger, Morse, O'Melveny, Prickett, Stephenson, Will and White—17.

Those against the adoption—Bankson, Compton, Eckols, Ferguson, Hargrave, Kirkpatrick, Lemen, McFatridge, McHenry, Moore, Roberts, West and Whittaker—14. The second section was then adopted.

Article 8, section 8, in the original draft guaranteed to the inhabitants of the old villages their commons. This was modified in the second reading by adding that this guarantee does not apply to Cahokia nor to Prairie du Pont. Section 15 was amended to provide that imprisonment for debt was prohibited if one had delivered up his estate for the benefit of his creditors.

Mr. Hubbard then reported a schedule which was read and considered the first time. This schedule provided for the transfer of the machinery of government from the Territory to the State. This schedule as finally adopted has fourteen sections and was not a matter of contention in the convention.

Mr. Hubbard from the committee on "additional articles or sections," laid before the convention offers of donations of lands upon which the new capital of the state might be erected. These offers came from persons interested in Pope's Bluff, Hill's Ferry, and Covington. These offers were of sites along the Kaskaskia River.

Wednesday, August 19, 1818

On this day the Preamble and Articles 1 and 2 were ordered engrossed and read the third time.

The date of the election of the first governor was set for the first Thursday in September. After the first election of the governor the date was fixed for the first Monday in August. The first governor's term shall end the first Monday in December and at the end of each four years thereafter.

The engrossed preamble and Articles 1 and 2 were read and passed.

The first seven sections of Article 3 were read and passed. Mr. White offered a new section to Article 6, the slavery article. This section provided for a fulfillment of all contracts or indentures heretofore existing.

The Capital

Thursday, August 20, 1818

The first thing which came before the convention this day was a motion by Mr. Kitchell that it was expedient at this time to move the capital from Kaskaskia. Then Mr. Gard moved that

a committee of five be appointed to view the sites that had been offered on the Kaskaskia River and to report the most suitable site for the seat of government. The ball had been set rolling and Mr. Bankson moved that the Town of Covington be accepted as the seat of government. Mr. Kane offered a resolution that Kaskaskia be made the capital for five years, and at the end of that five years that the capital be moved to Pope's Bluff. Mr. Prickett moved the capital be fixed at Hill's Ferry, or Fredonia. Mr. Hubbard resolved that a committee survey the whole state and report the same to the first session of the General Assembly. All of these motions and resolutions were decided in the negative.

The convention now took up the real work of making the constitution. It proceeded to consider the remainder of Article 3 from the eighth section to the close of the article. These sections were adopted with only a few changes. The convention proceeded to the third reading of Articles 4, 5, 6 and 7 as amended and engrossed. In Section 5 of Article 4 the salary of governor and other officers was fixed at not to exceed $1,000. Carried by a vote of 17 to 14.

Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of Article 5 were accepted. Section 6 provided for exemption from arrest of the militia while at muster elections of officers, and in going and coming from the same, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

In the afternoon of this day the convention took up Articles 6 and 7. Mr. Gard moved to strike out Section 2 of Article 6 but his motion was lost 10 to 21. The third section of Article 6 was amended so as to validate contracts of service made under territorial laws, but children born of indentured parents shall be free, males at twenty-one and females at eighteen years of age.

Bill of Rights

Article 8, the bill of rights, was next considered. The first seven sections were adopted as given in second reading. The eighth section was amended with a proviso that the General Assembly shall have the right to grant the same privileges to Cahokia and Prairie du Pont as the bill of rights guarantees to other villages and towns. Section 15 was amended so as to secure freedom from imprisonment for debt unless the debtor refuses to deliver up his estate, etc. The remaining sections were then passed.

Mr. Roberts then introduced two new sections to be added to the bill of rights. Section 23 asserted the freedom of the press as "one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."

Section 24 provided that the press shall be protected in the publication of the conduct of public officials and "the truth may be given in evidence."

Section 21 was added to Article 3 providing that the state treasurer and public printer shall be appointed by the Legislature, but the governor shall have the privilege of filling vacancies when the Legislature was not in session.

Section 22 gave the governor the appointing power over all officers named in the constitution whose selection is not otherwise provided for. But such local officers as have duties limited to a county may be appointed in such manner as the General Assembly may provide.

The ordinance was then passed unanimously. A clause was then ordered to be attached to the schedule providing that the General Assembly should enact such laws as were necessary to prevent dueling.

Friday, August 21, 1818

The schedule was then considered. The words lieutenant-governor were inserted in the schedule naming an election officer following the word governor. The question of locating the capital of the new state had been one of great concern. Many propositions had been brought forward, but no positive action had been taken. There was a general belief that the capital would not long remain at Kaskaskia. Mr. Gard offered a resolution that the seat of government should remain at Kaskaskia until its location should be determined by the General Assembly. However, the first General Assembly was directed to ask Congress for a gift of four sections of land upon which the capitol building should be located. This carried by a vote of 18 to 13.

Saturday, August 22, 1818

A petition of one William Thompson asking that the convention shall announce that the moral law was the basis of the constitution, and that the scriptures are the word of God, the supreme rule of faith, and practice. The petition was laid on the table.

A committee of three, Messrs. Lemen, O'Melveny, and Kane, was appointed to make a study of the constitutions as amended and passed and to report next Monday at 9 o'clock.

Monday, August 24, 1818

By resolution the right to vote at the first election was granted to all white, male inhabitants who were residents of Illinois at the signing of the constitution.

The committee to study the constitution and report to the convention, recommended that Section 22 of the schedule be wholly expunged which was done. Many other changes were offered but there was a general feeling that the time for changes was past and the constitution remained about as read the third time.

The convention was in session on Tuesday the 25th, and on Wednesday the 26th, but there is no official record of what was

done in those two days. The only copy of the journal of the proceedings known was given to the secretary of state in 1905 by J. W. Kitchell, a nephew of Joseph Kitchell, a delegate from Crawford County.

The Constitution

No doubt great credit is due the pioneers who framed our first constitution. The framers were all men of prominence in the counties from which they came. Five of the delegates were lawyers, Thomas, Kane, Hall, Hubbard and Kitchell. The first two named were Federal judges. Kitchell was without doubt an able man. He appears to have initiated more valuable provisions in the constitution than any other one man. He was not on the committee of fifteen which presented the first draft of the document, but from the time the work on the floor of the convention began, Mr. Kitchell was in the forefront. Mr. Kane probably had more to do in determining the fundamental features of the constitution than any one else. In an exhaustive article on Conrad Will, by Dr. John F. Snyder in Publications of the Illinois Historical Society, Volume 10, 1905, in a footnote, Dr. Snyder says: "Judge Breese, who was then a law student in Elias K. Kane's office in Kaskaskia, said the constitution modeled in part after that of Kentucky, was written in Mr. Kane's office some time before the meeting of the convention." Judge Jesse B. Thomas was the presiding officer of the convention and seems not to have taken an active part in the work of making the constitution, but without doubt his counsel was always available. Not much is known of Hall as a lawyer, but from what can be gathered as to the professional attainments of Mr. Hubbard it may be inferred he was not a man who ranked high among the lawyers of his day.

There was one minister of the Gospel among the delegates. The Rev. James Lemen was a Baptist preacher and a man of high motives and strong convictions. He voted against fixing the salaries of the governor and the judges of the Supreme Court at $1,250. He favored $1,000 as the salary. On direct votes on the slavery question, Mr. Lemen always voted against slavery.

There were three doctors in the convention: Dr. George Fisher from Randolph, Dr. Caldwell Cairns of Monroe County, and Dr. Conrad Will of Jackson County.

There was one delegate who had given all his life to study and teaching, John Messenger from St. Clair County.

The other delegates were not men of mark except they were men of wide official experience who were valuable in their practical knowledge of affairs generally. The following is believed to be a reliable distribution among the callings:

Judges and Lawyers	5
Ministers	1

Physicians	3
Teachers	2
Business Men	4
Merchant	1
Miller	1
Office Holders	6
Farmers	10
Total	33

Election

Section 9 of the schedule reads as follows:

"The president of the convention shall issue writs of election to the several sheriffs of the several counties—requiring them to cause an election to be held for governor, lieutenant-governor, representative to the present Congress of the United States, and members of the General Assembly, and sheriffs and coroners in the respective counties; such election to commence on the third Thursday of September next and continuing that and the two succeeding days."

These elections were authorized on the theory that the constitution would be accepted and the state government would need to take charge of the affairs of the state. Accordingly the elections were held and resulted in the choice of the following:

Governor, Shadrach Bond.

Lieutenant Governor, Pierre Menard.

Representative in Congress, John McLean.

There was little opposition to Mr. Bond as a candidate for the governorship. He had no announced opponents, but there were votes cast for other men for the position. There seems to have been some opposition to Bond in St. Clair County. Bond had been mentioned as a candidate for Congress. Daniel P. Cook and John McLean were also candidates, and they both desired to be rid of Bond as a rival canidate. When Bond decided to make the race for the governorship, it left a clear field for Cook and McLean for Congress. Slavery was injected into the canvass, Cook was anti-slavery and McLean was pro-slavery. The national interest in the slavery question was just awakening. The vote of the Illinois representative might be needed badly by either side in the fight which far-seeing statesmen saw was coming. It is said that Cook and McLean debated the slavery question along the lines somewhat afterwards followed by Lincoln and Douglas. When the votes were counted it was found that McLean had outrun Cook by fourteen votes in the state.

For the office of lieutenant-governor there were three candidates—Pierre Menard, William L. Reynolds, and Edward N. Cullom. Menard was well known over the state. The constitution had been worded so as to permit him to serve as lieuten-

ant-governor, Section 3 as finally amended says the governor shall be thirty years of age and a citizen of the United States for thirty years. Section 13 of the same act says the lieutenant-governor shall have the same qualifications as the governor. Section 14 of the schedule says the lieutenant-governor shall be thirty years of age and a citizen of the United States, and must have resided in the state two years next preceding his election. This change in the schedule was made it was said to allow Menard to serve as lieutenant-governor. William L. Reynolds was a doctor of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, one who stood high in his profession. He had had experience in the Territorial Legislature, but that was limited. Edward N. Cullom was a

MANSION OF PIERRE MENARD, AT THE FOOT OF THE BLUFF ON WHICH STOOD OLD FORT GAGE OPPOSITE KASKASKIA

member of the convention from Crawford County. He, too, had served in the Legislature. It is stated that both Reynolds and Cullom received fewer than half as many votes as Menard.

Section 24 of Article 2 says: "The first meeting of the General Assembly shall commence on the first Monday of October next, and forever after, the General Assembly shall meet on the first Monday in December next ensuing the election of the members thereof." In pursuance of this provision the Legislature met on the 5th of October, 1818. Here arises a curious situation. The constitution which had been made in August was never ratified by the people and on the meeting of the Legislature on October 5th had not yet been accepted by the Congress. The state constitution, Article 2, Section 26, says that every person elected or appointed to office in this state shall,

before he enters upon the duties thereof take an oath to support the constitution of the United States and of this state, and also an oath of office. What would have been the value of these elections, appointments, and oaths if Congress had refused to accept the constitution which had just been made? What would have been the force of an oath to support a constitution which the people had not ratified and which Congress would not accept? If it be contended that the action of the joint session of the two branches of the General Assembly in electing two United States assemblymen, was valid, why did the Legislature adjourn and wait till January before laws could be made and many other forms of legislative activity participated in?

CHAPTER XXV

A RETROSPECT

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION—THE PIONEERS—ECONOMIC CONDITIONS — TRANSPORTATION — RELIGIOUS LIFE — EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS—THE RETURN OF CLARK'S MEN.

We have reached the day when Illinois is to be recognized as having obtained her majority. Illinois will presently be admitted into the Union. Her population is increasing, her settlements are spreading. Her industries are multiplying, towns are growing, the soil of her rich prairies and the resources of her timbered areas are becoming known as well in Europe as within our own New World.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

The population by the census of 1820 was 55,162 while in 1810 it was 12,282. This would give 46,586 as the population in 1818. This of course is too large, as there were less than 40,000 people by the census of 1818 when Illinois was admitted into the Union. The large counties in population were Madison, Randolph, St. Clair, Gallatin, Edwards, Crawford, and Bond. With the exception of Bond these all touch the Ohio or the Mississippi. Union, Alexander, Pulaski, Johnson and Massac had less than two people to the square mile in 1818. This distribution of population along the Ohio and the Wabash and along the Mississippi is easily explained. In the last two decades the population had come from the south and east, and as the people sought their homes they remained close to the rivers and their tributaries. The settlements had gone up the Mississippi several miles beyond the mouth of the Illinois River, and up the Ohio and Wabash to the present Clark and Edgar counties. That part of the state now occupied by Johnson, Williamson, Franklin, Jefferson, Marion, Clay and Effingham were very sparsely settled—except Williamson, and Franklin. The population of the state in 1818 or 1820 occupied less than one-fourth of the area of the state.

The north two-thirds or three-fourths of the state was still a wilderness. There were remnants of Indian tribes in the central and northern parts of the state. A map of Illinois printed in the American Atlas, published in Philadelphia, shows Indian villages southeast of Peoria, east of Peoria, on the Kankakee, south of Chicago, and at the mouth of the Rock River. These

Indians were the Kickapoos, the Moonpokes, the Sax and Foxes, the Winnebagoes, and the Pottawattomios. There were other broken tribes in the unsettled portions of the state.

The people in Illinois in 1818 were chiefly from the slave-holding states. There were of course the descendants of the early French found mostly along the Mississippi with a few along the Wabash near Vincennes. True enough there were here and there men of prominence and influence who had made their way into the southern parts of Illinois from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York. Then there were many individuals and now and then groups from the Old World. The English settlements at Albion and Wanboro in Edwards County, Thornwald in Union County and German settlements in St. Clair County are illustrations. Many groups of Scotch-Irish came into Illinois in a very early day, but they nearly all came by way of the Carolinas and thence through Tennessee into Illinois.

The Pioneers

The people who came into Illinois between 1800 and 1818, as well as those who were already here, were of the class known as the pioneers. They were the John the Baptists opening the way for those who might come after them. They were the frontiersmen who pushed the opposing forces of civilization continually backward. They drove back the red savages, opened roads, discovered the natural resources, located the fords, built the first defenses, established homes, planted the first signs of a Christian civilization, subdued the wild beasts and kept open communication with the older sections of the country. The Marquis de Castellux, a French officer, traveled through this country at the close of the eighteenth century. He was greatly interested in the work of the pioneers. He was surprised to find what one man had done in one year. Then the mystery was solved when he found that there was a pioneer every three miles, and was filled with enthusiasm when he found that no man worked by himself but that a most beautiful spirit of helpfulness was manifest everywhere. He said he would be asked in France, where they do not understand the life of the pioneers, how men working alone in the forest wilds could do what he found accomplished. He said he would tell his people that on the frontier "a man is never alone, never an isolated being. The neighbors, for they are everywhere to be found, make it a point of hospitality to aid the new farmer. A cask of cider drunk in common, and with gaiety, or a gallon of rum, are the recompense for these services. Such are the means by which North America, which 100 years ago was nothing but a vast forest, is peopled with 3,000,000 of inhabitants."

The French Marquis discovered one element of the life of the pioneers—helpfulness. There was also a sturdiness in the

life of the frontiersman which is not found in the life which succeeds the life of the pioneers. There was nothing light and trivial in the true pioneers. They were people who had their minds made up, and their hearts set on immediate ends, and all their energies were brought to bear in the realization of these ends. The subduing of the wilderness whether it be on the open prairies or in the timber, the founding of a home whether humble or elaborate, the building and maintaining of a house of worship, the opening of roads, the building of bridges, the supporting of some sort of educational system, however crude, and above all the maintenance of high standards in moral and economic relationships. These are the things the Marquis saw in the humble people he found in the territory west of the Appalachians at the end of the eighteenth century, and these are the same people with the same high ideals that prepared Illinois for statehood in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The men and the women who came into Illinois in the first quarter of the last century, had not only the immediate ends which they must accomplish of making sure the basis of their immediate physical and spiritual well-being, but they had a really broad outlook upon the world. They brought high ideals and ambitious plans which were not realized for decades in the future. Cities were planned, school systems matured, free government, state and local, projected, and many looked forward to the development of the great resources of the state though possibly in the distant future. To confirm the doubting Thomases we need only to mention the life work of Dr. John Peck, Morris Birkbeck, Rev. John M. Ellis, Ninian Edwards, Hon. John Rice Jones, Hon. Elias Kent Kane, James Hall, Rev. James Lemen, Governor John Reynolds, and many others, all of whom helped to lay the foundations of the greatness of an imperial commonwealth.

There is and ought to be no purpose to deny the fact that there was an ignorant and uneducated class of people in the settled portions of Illinois in 1818. As has been said above the large majority of the people who migrated into Illinois in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were from states where there were no free schools, where the participation in the affairs of the local government were very limited, and where ease of making a living did not contribute to the development of resourcefulness of the individual. These people were therefore slow in adapting themselves to the conditions which another group of people might desire to obtain. But ignorance is not a crime. Nor does it lead necessarily to criminality. It will often turn out that the standards of right conduct are found to be of a very high order even among an uneducated people. There were few crimes committed in Illinois between 1800 and

1818. True, some of the forms of punishment were crude and barbarous, but not more so than those for offenses of a later date.

Economic Conditions

It is true that the pressing need among the early settlers was an economic need. Food must be provided out of the resources at hand. The fishes of the streams and lakes must contribute their share to the sustaining of the people. The people found the problem of supplying this form of food an easy one. The streams were at the doors, the rich foods which the prairies and the woods furnished the fishes of the streams, and the running water pure and fresh kept the fishes in the best condition as a food supply. The wild game was plentiful. If the settler was located in the timber areas, he might secure an abundance of the choicest meats from the wild animals. The wild turkey without doubt furnished the choicest meat that could be obtained from the woods or fields. The prairie chicken was a close second to the wild turkey; wild pigeons, ducks, geese and quails were found in abundance and their contribution to the food supply of the early settler was abundant and exceedingly acceptable. On the open prairies beside the prairie chicken, there was the deer and the timid antelope, and in the earlier days the buffalo. It is difficult for us to see how the pioneers could have accomplished so much in the opening up of the country if their living had not been so easily obtained.

Providing shelter was a simple task for our forefathers. Most of them had been used to the building of log houses in the states from which they came. The timber furnished the logs for the cabin. In the building of the first homes, there was that charming spirit of helpfulness which we have already spoken of. In any considerable neighborhood there were always as many as four "corner men," professional ax men who could carry up the corner of a log house in a really artistic manner. The house raising was a day when men and women shared with each other the joy of service. The women would provide excellent dinners for the men who were "raising the house." We hear much of the puncheon floors, but we must not imagine that there were no saw mills in the country. They were in fact quite plentiful. They ran by water power, by horse power, and now and then a stream mill would be seen. The floors, doors, and partitions were often of sawed boards. The proverbial clapboard was in evidence everywhere. Every farmer who lived in the timber owned his frow and could rive his own boards. The climax of artistic construction was to be found in the building of the "mud and stick" chimney. Fifty to seventy years ago, the stick chimney was still to be seen in some parts of Illinois. And to the young people of those days it was always a mystery why the

chimney did not catch fire, but the mystery was easily cleared up by watching the professional chimney builder as he pursued his art.

Farming was universal. Probably as many as 75 per cent of the people followed the tilling of the soil. The land everywhere was productive. If it were in the timber regions, it had become enriched by the decay of immense crops of leaves. To this was added the decayed limbs and nuts which covered the ground in the summer time. The prairies received each year the crop of grass which the summer had produced. Thus the native soil needed no fertilizers. Farming was not always carried on because it was a matter of necessity. It was considered a very profitable line of economic activity. There were two lines of

AN EARLY DAY DWELLING IN RICHLAND COUNTY
Built of clay and straw mixed

profit in farming in the early days. The markets of New Orleans were permanently opened up to the people of the Mississippi Valley when the Government purchased Louisiana in 1803. The countries of Europe early learned that New Orleans was a fine market in which to purchase sugar, corn, oats, cotton, wheat, tobacco, cordage, hay, potatoes, cured meats, lumber, hides, wool, lead, and even live stock. In 1802 James Madison said: "The Mississippi is everything to them (the people west of the Alleghanies) ; it is the Hudson, the Potomac, the Delaware, and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic coast formed in one." The exports from New Orleans in the year 1802 were a little short of three-quarters of a million dollars. Two hundred and sixty-seven ocean going vessels cleared from New Orleans in 1802. In 1818, $16,771,711 worth of produce from the Missis-

sippi Valley was exported from New Oreans. At the same date it cost one-third of the farmer's wheat crop in Western Pennsylvania to market the other two-thirds in New York City. And the cost of bringing a ton of merchandise from Baltimore to Cincinnati at this time was $150. Farming was therefore a profitable business in Illinois. Much of the Illinois produce was transported from the place where it was raised by flat-boats, which was a very cheap form of transportation. Flat-boats even as early as 1818 were built, and carried the produce out of the Little Wabash, the Big Wabash, the Saline, the Cache, the Big Muddy, the Kaskaskia and possibly out of smaller streams. A second form of profit that the early farmer realized was in the enhanced value of his farming lands. The best land in Illinois could be bought at $2.00 per acre—and after 1820 at $1.25 per acre. If this land were in the prairie it was within a few years worth from $5 to $10 an acre. If the farm were in the timber regions it took longer to improve it and even then it was not worth so much per acre, still the price had often quadrupled within less than a dozen years.

Manufacturing advanced as rapidly as other forms of economic activity. Ford, in his history of Illinois, says: the few things which the farmers could not supply themselves with were obtained from the merchants in the larger towns. Tea and coffee were not in common use and sugar was often made from the sap of the maple trees. Nearly all forms of clothing were manufactured in the home. The wool was raised by the farmer. It was carded and spun by the farmer's wife and her daughters. It was woven in the home and the cloth was made into garments for the members of the family. Leather was tanned by the early settlers. Tanneries could be seen on the farms as late as the Civil war. It was no uncommon thing to find among the frontiersmen a cobbler's outfit. Some farmers even made shoes for the family. A bellows, anvil, forge, vise, and a few crude tools were to be found in each neighborhood. It was no trick for the farmer to sharpen a plow, shrink his tires, upset his axe, and weld broken iron. The more thrifty farmers kept a work bench, a shaving horse, and a few tools for the different kinds of wood work. The thoughtful farmer usually had lumber ready for the making of crude coffins. The author was told by an early settler that he often helped to make coffins for the burial of the dead.

Among a people so self-sufficing, we should expect manufactures to progress slowly. And yet there were certain kinds of manufacturing which were carried on in a really business-like way. Perhaps the most pretentious manufacturing enterprise in the state was the salines near the Town of Equality in Gallatin County. Here was a plant that had been in continuous operation since the earliest travelers passed this way. The

works in its most palmy days turned out several hundred barrels of salt per day. Several hundred men were employed—many of them indentured slaves. We shall describe the manufacture of salt at this saline more fully in a future chapter.

Jesse B. Thomas was one of the three Federal judges appointed in 1809 to hold court in Illinois Territory. He arrived in Kaskaskia and took up his home in or near "Elvirade," the country home of the governor. A few year's later, Mr. Thomas began to farm near Cahokia. In those days the farmers were producing wool in abundance. This must be carded by hand, spun and woven into cloth for the families of the pioneers. The most tedious part of the process was to card the wool into rolls. Mr. Thomas therefore decided to erect a carding house in Cahokia. This he did in the summer of 1817. The building was a roomy barn-like structure with a spacious basement. In the basement was a large tread-mill where the power to run the carding machine was generated. Oxen were forced to climb the tread-mill, and were kept at their task by the manager of the mill from the upper floor. The carding machinery was brought from the east and was installed and managed by Hon. Adam W. Snyder, who later served two terms in Congress and a term as state senator. He was the democratic candidate for governor in 1842, but died in the early summer and his place on the ticket was taken by Judge Ford. The carding mill which Judge Thomas erected and fostered in Cahokia was the first industry along that line in the state.

The making of lumber was an important form of manufacturing in the period just before statehood. The timber in Southern Illinois was of a very fine quality and the choicest lumber was produced. Much of this lumber was used locally, but much of it was sent by flat boat to New Orleans. Walnut, ash, oak, gum, cherry, hard maple, and other kinds constituted a choice lot of lumber for the markets in Cincinnati, St. Louis and New Orleans. Oak, hickory, and ash were sawed for the various parts of the making of wagons, plows, harrows, and other kinds of farm machinery. Wagon-makers were to be found located here and there in the villages and towns.

Weaving was done not only in the home, but in many places home-made cloth was found in the stores, which had been woven by expert weavers. The tanning of leather was carried on as a business, and rope walks were not uncommon in the early days. The grinding of grain was also a very common form of manufacturing in the early days of the last century. Mills were found in the larger towns, and frequently in out of the way places on account of the location of falls or the ease of making dams. Much flour was marketed in New Orleans or in the larger towns along the Upper Mississippi or on the Ohio.

Transportation

The economic activity most closely related to farming and manufacturing is commerce and trade. Surpluses in the raw material, such as wheat, corn, wool, lumber, etc., together with the manufactured products, must be moved to localities where they are needed. And fortunate are any people who are blessed with an abundance of the raw material from which the manufactured articles may be made who also have abundant means of transportation. From all points of consideration, Illinois was, from the earliest times, a state which could easily develop her means of transportation. The Mississippi was from the

RIVER STEAMERS ON THE MARINE WAYS AT MOUND CITY

first an unrivaled means of transporting goods. Even in the days before the steamboat, the Mississippi was the great artery of trade with New Orleans. There was of course some difficulty in bringing the goods purchased in New Orleans to the Illinois Territory. The boats must be brought up by oars or by a process called cordelling, or possibly by the help of sails. But in spite of the difficulty of bringing goods from New Orleans to Illinois, prior to the days of the steam-boat, that was the route of most of the imports into the Illinois Territory. The Ohio served a similar need in the early days. Cincinnati early became an excellent market for goods brought over the mountains from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. In addition to the rivers named, there were the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, the Wabash and others of less importance. Roads were early laid out and made available for cross-country traffic.

There were transportation routes established from the larger towns along the three larger rivers to inland towns and community centers. There were a few of the "Connestoga" style of wagons that found their way over the Alleghanies from New York and Pennsylvania. They might have been seen moving from the towns and landing places along the rivers to the country seats and less important villages, loaded with the necessaries of life—salt, iron, earthernware, domestics, leather, tools, and implements in limited quantities, coffee, spices, and some articles that in those days might have been called luxuries. To show that many articles of foreign make were found in the stores we copy from the introductory volume of the Illinois Centennial Publications, a list of articles offered for sale by one John Grant who in January, 1819, offered for sale a considerable list of articles all of foreign make.

NEW STORE

Carmi, White County, Illinois.

The Subscriber has opened a choice assortment of the following goods, which he has selected with care and attention in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and which he will sell on reasonable terms, whole-sale and retail:

Domestic and imported superfine cloths and cassimeres.
Sattinets, cassenets, and kerseys.
Velveteens and vestings.
Printed calicoes.
Furniture ditts.
Domestic and imported ginghams and chambrays—plain and twilled.
Bombozets.
White and colored flannels.
Rose and Point blankets.
Steam-loom and domestic shirtings.
Sheeting muslins and bedticks.
Men's and women's worsted and cotton hose.
Men's and women's gloves.
Waterloo shawls and silk handkerchiefs.
Cambric, Jaconet and book muslins.
Insertion trimmings and ribbons.
Scots thread and cotton balls—white and colored.
Manteras and sevantines.
India muslins.
Men's, women's, and children's boots and shoes.
Looking-glasses and Jap'd trays.
Tortoise, ivory and common combs.
Hand vises.
Millsaw and handsaw tiles.
Pitt and cross-cut saws.

German steel handsaws.
Thumb latches, hinges and locks.
Spades, shovels, hoes, axes, frying pans, pots, teakettles, dutch ovens, smothing-irons, with a great variety of cutlery, cast and hollow ware.
Groceries, hollow glassware of Kenwell's manufacture—window glass.
School books and stationery.
English Crowley Mellington steel.
Juanitta Bar-iron.
Sieves and riddles.
Grindstones of the best quality.

JOHN GRANT.

Carmi, December 31, 1818.

A shawneetown merchant offered cash for the following products from the farm:

Tallow	Turnips
Candle cotton	Onions
Soft flax for wicks	Parsnips
Venison hams	Carrots
Butter	Hops
Cheese	Sage
Eggs	Twilled bags
Potatoes	

These two advertisements would indicate that there were many goods in the stores that were evidently not hand-made, and that there was a good market for what the farmer could produce on the farm. So there was work for the wagoner in bringing the foreign goods to the inland towns and in carrying the farmers' produce which accumulated in the country stores to the river towns for shipment to the larger cities.

The commerce and trade of the Illinois Territory was greatly stimulated by the appearance of the steamboats upon the rivers. We have already called attention to the part played by the coming of the steamboat in stimulating immigration. In a like manner the steamboat shortened the time which was required to get the farmers' produce from the shipping points along the rivers. Not only was there a saving of time, but there was a cheapening of rates of transportation. The desire of the people to have easy access to the shipping points along the rivers gave added interest to the building of roads and bridges, and thus the problems of transportation were from year to year being solved.

Religious Life

The moral tone of the life of a people in a newly settled country is always of high standard. The people who migrate from an older settled country are usually not of the "upper classes"

as we use the expression, nor of the dregs of society. But they are of the great middle class—the bourgeois. Their purpose in emigrating is to better their condition in life, and they are conscious that this better condition can come only through the severest discipline in the new country. They usually have no notion that by any form of legerdemain they can place themselves in positions of wealth or high social standing in the new country. They seek only the opportunity to cooperate with the natural and legitimate forces which bring prosperity, happiness, and acknowledged superiority. They are patient, industrious, self-sacrificing, considerate always of the rights and wishes of others. Such were the people who made up the larger part of the population of Illinois in 1818. They believed in honest toil, they lived close to nature, and were obedient to the laws of man and of God. These early comers were not always members of the church. The Rev. John Peck, who was the best known individual in Illinois at the close of the first quarter of a century, gives the names of James Moore, Shadrach Bond, Sr., Robert Kidd, James Garrison, Larkin Rutherford, J. Piggott, Joseph Ogle, Joseph Worley, James Andrews, James Lemen, Sr., James McRoberts, George Atchison, and David Waddle as early settlers at and near New Design, now the town of Waterloo, Monroe County. These were men with high ideals and stout hearts. They came into Monroe County, some of them, as early as 1781. Doctor Peck says not one of them was a member of the church. On Sundays they would all gather at a particular home and there engage in simple religious exercises. They read the scriptures, commented on them, sang songs and psalms, read sermons, but never prayed. They thus kept rather high ideals as to duty of pioneers on the Lord's day.

"In the summer of 1787, James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Lincoln County, Kentucky, visited New Design and preached to the people repeatedly." His labors were not without reward, for James Ogle and James Lemen and their wives, and others, were converted. Reverend Smith returned to Kentucky, and the next year found him back at New Design. He was captured in a battle with the Indians, carried to the Wabash a prisoner, and was eventually ransomed by the people of New Design by the payment to the Indians of $170. In 1794 Rev. Josiah Dodge, also from Kentucky, a preacher in the Baptist Church, held what we know as a revival or protracted meeting at New Design, and at this time he baptized James Lemen, his wife, John Gibbons, and Isaac Enochs. Reynolds says these were the first people baptized in Illinois.

The first Baptist Church in Illinois was organized by the Rev. David Badgley in 1796. The Reverend Badgley was from Virginia. It appears that quite a few people who had belonged to the Baptist Church in Kentucky had come to the New Design

settlement, among whom was Joseph Chance, who had been set apart as a lay elder. The Reverend Badgley preached earnestly for more than three weeks and fifteen persons were converted. These, together with those who had formerly belonged to the Baptist Church, were organized into a church in New Design. There were twenty-eight members. The next year the Reverend Badgley and Joseph Chance preached and worked faithfully and organized another Baptist Church in the American Bottom, a few miles west of New Design. Mr. James Lemen became a Baptist preacher of much power. He was a man of marked character both as a preacher and as a citizen. "Father John Clark" came into Illinois in 1797 and did a great work as preacher and teacher. In the early part of the last century Rev. Mr. Lindley preached in what is now Sangamon County. Rev. William Jones came into what is now Madison County, on Wood River, in 1806, and preached there for many years. Several Baptist churches were formed about 1807 in what is now Madison County and in the present limits of St. Clair County.

The Rev. John Peck calls attention to the fact that at least four sons of the Rev. James Lemen became Baptist preachers. The Rev. William Kinney became a member of the Baptist Church and was a power for good for many years. He was prominent in politics in the early years of the state. The Rev. Deacon Smith came from Maine to St. Clair County about the time Illinois was admitted into the Union.

"An association of Baptist churches was formed in 1807, containing five churches, namely, the New Design, Mississippi Bottom, Richland, Wood River, and Silver Creek. There were three ordained preachers and sixty-two members in these churches. In 1809 six preachers were ordained, and in all 400 communicants in Missouri and Illinois. The Baptist churches grew in proportion to other religious congregations, and the population of the country, until this day (1855) they are established in almost every section of the country, and are the second religious denomination in the state. The census of 1850 states that the Baptist churches number 265—accommodating 91,620 persons, and their property is estimated at $204,095."

Without doubt the most noted Baptist in Illinois prior to his death, in 1858, was John Mason Peck. In another place we shall speak of his life and public services.

The Methodists were early on the ground in Illinois. The Rev. Joseph Lillard was the first preacher. He was a circuit rider in Kentucky, and in 1793 he came to New Design, where he preached and had what they called "class meetings." These were of the nature of a prayer meeting and experience meeting combined. Joseph Ogle, who had been converted under the Rev. James Smith, the Baptist preacher, joined in with the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Lillard, who made Mr. Ogle the "class leader."

The Rev. Hosea Riggs, an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church, came in 1796. The "class" that was organized by the Reverend Lillard had disbanded and Mr. Riggs reorganized it and it held together for a few years, but later disbanded. The Rev. Mr. Riggs organized a "class" in the Goshen neighborhood, near Edwardsville, which flourished for awhile. Dr. Joseph Oglesby was a circuit rider in Illinois in 1805 and the Rev. Charles R. Matheny performed similar service in 1806. In the next year Bishop McKendree visited Illinois and organized churches at various places where the earlier preachers had gathered a few people together. In all the churches he organized there were 200 members. While Bishop McKendree was in Illinois he held two camp meetings, assisted by the Rev. Jesse Walker, one of the most successful missionaries the Methodists had had in Illinois. One of these camp meetings was held a few miles south of Edwardsville, probably not far from the Goshen settlement, and the other was held at Shiloh, in St. Clair County, some six miles northeast of Belleville. These were the first camp meetings ever held in Illinois and were a new form of religious activity. The Rev. Jesse Walker introduced Methodism into St. Louis in 1820, greatly against the wish of certain interests, but he persisted and, with the help of the Baptists, he secured a foothold. With the help of friends, the Rev. Mr. Walker cut timber on the Illinois side of the Mississippi and built a substantial structure in St. Louis which came to be known as "Father Walker's Church."

But without doubt the greatest figure in Methodism in Illinois was the Rev. Peter Cartwright, whose sketch will be found in another place.

The Presbyterians were at work in Illinois as early as 1796. In that year the Rev. John Evans Finley, from Chester County, Pennsylvania, arrived at Kaskaskia for the purpose of laboring with the Indians and Spanish. He preached to the red men and baptized several of them. He lived a while on the west side of the Mississippi, and when he thought he might be forced to do military duty in the Spanish army, he returned to the east, at least resided afterwards in Ohio.

The Presbyterians were next represented by two licentiates, John F. Schemmerhorn and Samuel Mills. They were sent into the West by the Presbyterian Missionary Board of New England. They reached Illinois in 1812. In making reports they say: "There is no Presbyterian or Congregational minister in Illinois. There are a number of good people who are anxious to have such ministers amongst them. They likewise wish to be remembered by the Bible and Religious Tract Societies." They seem to have made a very thorough canvass of Illinois, and later went with Andrew Jackson from Nashville, Tennessee, to New Orleans in 1813. Their reports made a great impression

upon Eastern Presbyterians as to the needs of the West. They came into Illinois by way of Vincennes and Shawneetown. "This territory is deplorably destitute of Bibles. In Kaskaskia, a place containing eighty to 100 families, there are, it is thought, not more than four or five Bibles. In the fall of 1814 they visited Kaskaskia and held a conference with Governor Edwards about organizing a Bible society for Illinois. "We did not find any place in the territory where a copy of the scriptures could be obtained." The Reverend Mills was in Illinois and conferred with Judge Griswold of the Territorial Court about organizing the Bible society. While in Shawneetown Mr. Mills was told by one that he had tried for fifteen years to obtain a Bible and had not succeeded. In the reports sent back East by these missionaries, they call attention to the wickedness of Shawneetown. They say the town is subject to floods from the Ohio and to worse floods of impiety and iniquity.

These reports give us a good picture of the country in relation to other matters than Presbyterianism. They say that six miles from Kaskaskia there were forty families constituting an Associate Reformed congregation. Kaskaskia had 100 families, two-thirds of which were French Catholics. There were no Baptists or Methodists about Kaskaskia, but several churches in St. Clair County, to the north. The report says that "The majority (of the people in Illinois), though by no means regardless of religion have not yet embraced any fixed sentiments respecting it—hence every kind of heretical preachers in the country flock to the new settlements. Hence also the Baptist and Methodist denominations are exerting themselves to gain a footing in the territories."

Norton's "History of the Presbyterian Churches in the State of Illinois" says that in 1815 "One ordained minister had landed in Kaskaskia, a Rev. Mr. McGready, had preached a few times in White County and three licentiates had traveled across the territory." No church had been located and no Presbyterian preacher had been located within the territory.

The Rev. James McGready organized the first Presbyterian Church in Illinois. It was known as the Church of Sharon. This was in the fall of 1816. The membership was made up of people from Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The Reverend McGready died in 1818 or 1819. Shortly after this two brothers, William and John Barnett, Coumberland Presbyterians, came into the region of the Sharon Church and preached. This broke up the membership of the Sharon Church. Some of the Sharon people joined the new organization, but later deserted it. The new church was called Hopewell, and was two miles from Enfield.

Benjamin Spillman moved into Illinois in September, 1817. The name of Spillman is very closely associated with Presby-

terianism in Illinois. It is thought that before 1820 there were only a few regularly established Presbyterian churches in Eastern Illinois, one at Sharon, in White County, and one at Golconda, established in 1819.

A Presbyterian Church was organized on Shoal Creek by Rev. Salmon Giddings in 1819. It was four miles north of Greenville, Bond County. Mr. Giddings preached often in Kaskaskia, and on occasions at the Irish settlement, sixteen miles east of Kaskaskia, a church was organized at Edwardsville by the Rev. Mr. Giddings. A lady who came to Edwardsville in 1817 says: "When I came to Edwardsville, in 1817, I could find no professor of religion in that place, and for eighteen months no sermon was preached there. I lived to see a church of nine members, and (later) increased to thirty." The Rev. Nathan Darrow organized a Presbyterian Church in Golconda, October 24, 1819. There were sixteen members. James E. Willis was made the first elder.

The foregoing brief account describes the activities of the Presbyterians in Illinois prior to 1820.

Educational Progress

We have called attention to the fact that most of the people who came to Illinois were from states where free schools were not popular. The large part of the early settlers were therefore illiterate. Prior to the coming of George Rogers Clark the efforts to educate the people were very meager. There was some sort of institution founded by the Jesuits in Kaskaskia as early as 1721. But this religious order was suppressed by order of the French Government in 1763, and it is not likely that the school established in 1721 did much toward the work of education after 1763. Certainly the general level of educational standing was at a low ebb when the country passed into the hands of General Clark in 1778. In 1790, when General St. Clair had come to Kaskaskia to organize a semblance of government there, he was greatly disappointed. General St. Clair had great difficulty in picking out men who could hold the simple offices, such as justice, constable, clerk, or sheriff. He stated that "not a fiftieth man can read or write." That would be 2 per cent. A population in which 98 per cent were illiterate is sadly deficient in the rudiments of an education. It should be stated that any system of education which may be considered in the Illinois country has reference only to the Americans.

It may not be amiss to say that many of the soldiers who came with Clark in 1778 eventually were mustered out and returned to their homes in Kentucky, Virginia or other of the older states. The short stay in the Illinois country had made them acquainted with the possibilities which the future would develop in Illinois. The rich soil, the abundance of timber, the animal life, the won-

derful springs, creeks, and rivers all constituted a lure which the men could not withstand. And so it was only a few short years before the more progressive of Clark's heroes began to return to the hills, valleys, and prairies of the Illinois country. We are indebted to Governor John Reynolds for what we know of the Illinois country just after the days of George Rogers Clark. Governor Reynolds, a boy of eleven years, came from his Tennessee home in 1800. He made his home in the American Bottom, and was personally acquainted with everybody who lived in St. Clair and Randolph counties. He was very well educated and had a real insight into historical values. In the following paragraphs we have therefore followed the facts as given by Governor Reynolds.

The Return of Clark's Men

In 1781, while the Revolutionary war was still in progress, five heads of families, with their wives and children, made their way across the Alleghany Mountains, descended the Ohio, and by the exercise of much muscular energy and great patience they ascended the Mississippi River, probably disembarking at Kaskaskia, whence they passed, a part to the high ground near the present city of Waterloo and the rest to the bottom lands just west of Waterloo. Two of these pioneers had served with Clark in his campaigns against Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. These men were James Moore, Shadrach Bond, Sr., Robert Kidd, Larkin Rutherford, and James Garrison. Kidd and Rutherford were soldiers with Clark. Mr. Kidd lived in the American Bottoms, near Fort Chartres, till 1849. Mr. Rutherford lived later in St. Clair County, north of Belleville, for many years. Thomas Brady and William Arundel were the only two non-French people in Cahokia prior to 1788.

By 1783 there were forty-five American families in Illinois. In 1791 there were sixty-five Americans who could bear arms. After 1783 the American settlers came in larger numbers and settlements were built up in what is now Monroe, Randolph, and St. Clair counties. The first man to teach school in Illinois was Samuel John Seeley. His first school was in 1783. He taught at New Design. Probably the second teacher was Francis Clark, who appeared as early as 1785, and the next teacher was an Irishman named Halfpenny. He was occupied in teaching for many years. He taught in so many different places that he might be styled the schoolmaster general of Illinois, at least for that day. A Mr. John Clark was a preacher as well as a teacher. He was a Scotchman and was well educated. Most of the teachers gave instruction in the common branches only, but Mr. Clark taught higher mathematics, philosophy, etc.

These men who have been named as teachers occupied the educational stage toward the latter part of the eighteenth cen-

tury. There were no standards, no one spoke with authority educationally. The teacher's preparation was of course very limited. There were few books that could be used as texts. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the chief lines of study. The teacher would board about in the neighborhood. There were no schoolhouses this early. Classes were taught wherever they could assemble, in unoccupied parts of dwellings, abandoned cabins, or other vacant buildings. There was no equipment—no maps, globes, blackboards, text books, or schoolroom furniture. The teacher was paid a small fee for each pupil per month.

"Madison County had its first school on the edge of the Great American Bottom in 1804. The teacher, John Bradbury, is said to have been faithful but not learned. John Atwater opened a school near Edwardsville in 1807. He came from Massachusetts and gained a reputation as a good teacher. Six-Mile had a school in 1805." John Messenger was probably the most noted teacher in Illinois in the first and second decade of the nineteenth century. He was born in Massachusetts in 1771, and had the advantage of good schools and the use of a good library. He came to Illinois in 1802 and seems to have settled in the American Bottom. He afterwards, 1804, moved to New Design, where he ran a mill, and afterwards moved to "Clinton Hill," a few miles northeast of Belleville. He was a natural mathematician and gave instruction in surveying to many people. In 1815 he was made deputy surveyor general, with the task of surveying the military tract, the land between the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers. He was professor of mathematics in the Rock Spring Seminary, which the Rev. John Peck conducted at Rock Springs in 1827.

It is difficult to measure the value of the very crude agencies of a common school education which flourished in Illinois from 1783 to 1818. The fact that there were those who could and would impart instruction to illiterate men of the time in some measure interprets to us the spirit of the pioneer times. There was that spirit of helpfulness in social life as we have seen in the physical relations. And the fact that men and women would pay out money to these teachers proves their thirst for knowledge. There were better days ahead for these people, and the foundations of those better days were being laid in this simple method of caring for the education of the common people in those pioneer days.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A RETROSPECT (Continued)

THE CANADIAN CONTINGENT—A CULTURED FAMILY—ANOTHER PICTURE — SOCIABILITY — AMUSEMENTS — PUNISHMENTS —NEWSPAPERS—CENTERS OF SETTLEMENT—PUBLIC MEN— REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS—INTERESTING PLACES.

EARLY SOCIETY IN ILLINOIS

There were three distinct elements in the early population of the Illinois country. Prior to the French and Indian war which closed in 1763, the population was made up of French and Indians. The Indians contributed nothing to the advancement of the social life of the country. In fact they were a serious detriment to any steps that might have been taken looking toward an improvement in social conditions.

THE CANADIAN CONTINGENT

The French who came into Illinois in the earlier years were chiefly from Canada, and among the Canadians there were few agencies of culture and refinement. Parkman says: "Canada, the offspring of the Church and State, nursed from infancy in the lap of power, its puny strength fed with artificial stimulants, its movements guided by rule and discipline, its limbs trained to martial exercise, languished, in spite of all, from the lack of vital sap and energy." There was little initiative in the mass of Canadian citizens. There was of course a certain amount of initiative among the people, but it was in the hands of the Church and the State. The great body was "ignorant, light-hearted Canadian peasants who knew nothing and cared nothing about popular rights and civil liberties. Born to obey, they lived in contented submission, without the wish or the capacity for self-rule." They were full of adventure, and the chase and the quest for the furs of the Indians satisfied in large measure the spirit of restlessness and the buoyancy of their physical nature. These Canadian French built no real homes, they knew no family altar, they dreamed not of civil or religious liberty. "In the evening dance, his red cap mingled with the scalp-locks and feathers of the Indian braves; or, stretched on a bearskin by the side of his dusky mistress, he watched the gambols of his hybrid offspring in happy oblivion of the partner whom he left unremembered leagues behind."

These were the founders of villages, the builders of forts, the planters of mission posts, and the pioneers who built up the first crude social life in the Illinois country. If the standards of social life were low on the banks of the Canadian waters, they were lower in the forests of southern Illinois. Here were no cities, no first-hand communication with the mother land, and little or no oversight of Church or State. The villages were truly French villages up to 1763. The only effect the Indians' presence in the French villages was to drag down, never to build up. The social life of these people was one of pleasure. It was said that they passed much of their time in singing, dancing, and gaming. The Frenchmen married the Indian squaws of the different tribes and this of necessity lowered the tone of the social life. The population became mixed, and consequently degenerated. There can be little doubt that there were many illegitimate children born. The parish records lead one to suppose this for the records often show that children were born of legitimate marriages, and often give the name of the mother but not of the father. The following is copied from the parish records of the St. Anne Church:

"In the year 1743, on the 28th of December of the same year, I, the undersigned, N. Laurent, priest, missionary apostolic, I baptized in the absence of M. J. Gagnon, missionary of St. Anne's Parish of Fort Chartres, a daughter, born in the same month and day mentioned above, of the legitimate marriage of Andrew Thomas des Jardins and of Marie Joseph Larett—.

"LAURENT, P. M. Ap."

The common people, that is, the French villagers in Illinois, were unambitious, lazy, unconcerned about providing for the future. They were kind hearted, generous, and happy, much devoted to their church. They yielded to circumstances, were pliant and accommodating.

The French homes were usually one story high with thatched roof of straw or grass. The walls were made of posts set in the ground to form a rectangle. The walls were white-washed within and without, the houses making an attractive contrast with the abundance of green of the summer time. The yards were fenced in with a picket fence. The French women and Indian squaws were attentive to flowers about the yard and to fruit trees in the rear of the cabin.

It was into surroundings thus described that the Americans came following the conquest by Clark. Only the boldest and most courageous of the people of the older states came into Illinois in the earliest days. A careful observer, who was a citizen of the state as early as 1820, Mr. Robert W. Paterson, has said that the early comers were of two classes—a sort of adventurous class who desired to continue to live in a new country and therefore were obliged to move on as civilization

and polite society came on; and second a class of people who had been forced out of the older states especially the slave states, by the fact of having to compete with slave labor. They wished to own land and to plant a permanent home, and this could not be done in the older states. Strangely enough these two classes lived together very agreeably. The first class did not care for the frills and superfluities of refined life and the second could not afford them, so they very agreeably adopted methods that were congenial to each other. Of course it must not be inferred that there were no people who were uncultured and uneducated. There were many such people. Judge Charles P. Kane of Springfield has given a very pleasing account of the marriage of Martha Stillman and Philo Beers in 1820 in a log cabin near the present City of Springfield, then in Madison County.

A Cultured Family

The Stillman family had removed from Western New York to Illinois by way of Morganfield, Kentucky, where they wintered in 1819-20. In the spring of 1820 they reached the Sangamon country where they built a log house of moderate dimensions, into which they moved the precious things they had brought from Western New York. "What furniture had been conveyed from New York was disposed about the rude mansion with such taste and skill as graduates from the seminaries of Junius and Aurora, under the circumstances, might display, and things were made as comfortable as possible; but the result was so disappointing, that Mother Stillman sat upon the side of the bed, hid her face in her hands and allowed the tears to fall unrestrained. Her children began to realize in much dismay the sacrifice she had made for them in undertaking the life of a pioneer of a century ago." One of the daughters, Martha Stillman, was married in the spacious parlor of this log cabin. Over the puncheon floor spread with a soft matting of straw, had been laid an ingrain carpet. On one side of the room stood a small piano of primitive design and construction, which upon the exodus from Canandaigua had been bereft of its legs for convenience of transportation. The deficiency was supplied by brother Stephen, who cut a sappling of suitable size into proper lengths, peeled off the bark and stained the glistening wood to resemble the body of the instrument, and our piano stood once more upon a proper footing. On another side of the room stood a tall narrow mirror, framed in guilt and reaching from the floor nigh to the ceiling, gaily bedecked the clay-daubed wall and blithely reflected the smiling faces of the merry company. In the middle of the apartment was placed a center table of oak having a curious foot, deftly carved in imitation of a huge pineapple. These, with other less conspicu-

ous articles of furniture, were reminders of the eastern home abandoned the year before."

The wedding dress was of fine white jaconet, cut low in the neck, with short puffed sleeves, waist no longer than the sleeves, gathered into a belt from which a gored skirt fell to the floor, terminating in a generous flounce of the same material. The "second day dress" was made of lilac silk, fashioned as a traveling suit and ornamented with two rows of silk covered buttons running down the front and extending over the shoulders. The material of the two dresses was brought from the East along with the piano, the mirror, and the oak center-table. The feast, spread before the guests, was provided from the delicacies which nature furnished. Of delicious meats there was an abundance of venison, turkey, prairie chicken, quail, squirrel, and fish; wild honey, fruits and nuts. The perplexing thing was the supply of bread and pastries. These must be made from flour or meal, ground in the nearest mill which was at Edwardsville; eighty miles distant.

These details have been given to warn us against the too prevalent notion that there was no wealth, education, or culture to be found in the humble homes in Illinois in the early days.

Another Picture

The social standards of this new country, however, were set not by such homes, and such people as the Stillmans, but rather by the men and women who knew nothing of silks and satins, pianos, carved center-tables, and plate-glass mirrors. But by those who raised flax, wool, and hemp from which the women folk carded, spun, and wove the coarse fibered clothing for the family. By men and women who went into the forests for the wild grapes, the nuts, the fowls, the fishes, and the furs. These men and women lived close to nature and nature in turn bountifully supplied their every want. The homes were self-sufficing, or in case there were those less fortunate, the spirit of social helpfulness easily supplied the deficiencies. The cloth which was woven in the home was often dyed with materials which never saw a chemical factory. The bark of certain trees, the hulls of walnuts, butternuts, together with a bit of madder and a simple mordant gave color and permanency to the dyer's art.

Most of the clothing was therefore made on the farm or in the village home. Shoes or moccasins were made in the home from the leather which was the product of a neighborhood tannery. Till much later than the period of which we now write, the summer hats for both men and women were plaited and sewed from the straws from the farm or from the wild grasses. Bonnets were made for the older women of light cloth supported by small strips of cardboard inserted into narrow cases run-

ning from front to back in the bonnet. An essential article about every pioneer home was the hunter's rifle. This served two important purposes. One was that of protection. From 1800 to 1815 there was constant danger from prowling Indians. Even after the close of the second war with England, and the signing of treaties with the several tribes in Illinois, there was no guarantee from Indian violence. The farmer was therefore amply justified in keeping close at hand his faithful rifle. He often took it with him as he went into the fields to work or as he was in the timber. Two guns were often kept and the wives and daughters were often good marksmen. Then the rifle was the means by which the table was kept in many kinds of food.

There have been some questions as to the moral standards which were maintained in the pioneer life in Illinois. Some have thought that because the restraints of polite society were not present that there may have been a common disregard of the best standards of social purity. Doctor Patterson, who lived in Bond County prior to the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, says that breaches of social purity were very rare. The minor vices of swearing, gambling, drunkenness, and dishonesty were observed, but these even were not common. He thinks that these shortcomings were greatly held in check by the strong religious sentiment which prevailed in most of the communities with which he was acquainted. There were of course violations of well established rules of conduct. There were roughs and rowdies in many communities and the agencies of correction were often brought into exercise, but the general tone of social life was pitched upon an elevated plane.

The courtships preceding the assumption of the marriage relation was a simple yet interesting period of young people's lives. There were no moving pictures to supplement a faint heart, no auto-joy-rides to make one dizzy, no round dances to bridge the chasm between the young couple. The only way was to regard the whole procedure as a matter-of-fact sort of affair. The father and mother and the kids all acted as chaperones. Marriages were solemnized by a justice of the peace or some county official as the preachers were not very plentiful. The young married couple went to housekeeping with the minimum amount of furniture and kitchen equipment. Beds were provided by boring large augur holes in the walls of one corner of the log house; one hole six feet from the angle, another about four feet from the corner. Into these were driven two poles, one about six, the other about four feet long. A post was erected where the two poles came together and after making the poles secure to it, slats were laid across the rectangular space or rope was woven back and forth till a foundation was made. Then the straw tick was placed on the rope or slats. One of the gifts of the mother to her daughter was

a feather bed. But often this could not be provided; in that case the straw bed must suffice. Not more than one or two chairs were to be found in the new home. These were usually the handiwork of the father of one of the contracting parties. Tables were likewise the product of the skill of one of the fathers. The cooking outfit was simplicity itself. A frying pan and a "Dutch oven" often constituted the kitchen set. Gourds served the purpose of dippers, cups, jars and receptacles generally. There were no buckets, but there were piggins which were much like buckets, but without a bail. Usually one of the staves extented six or eight inches above the others and served as a handle. The piggins were usually made of cedar and often exhibited considerable skill in the handling of tools. Thus equipped with home-made bed, chairs, table, and simple cooking vessels, the young couple began a happy and useful life.

The most marked social characteristic of the early people was that of hospitality. The southern states among the old "thirteen" early gained a wide reputation for their kindly hospitality. This hospitality was not patented by the poor people of the south, it was a marked characteristic of the planter life. Of course it should be understood that the extension of hospitality by the planter was always to those of his social class, while the poor people of the south were equally hospitable to all.

Sociability

However, the poor whites of the south very naturally had comparatively few opportunities to show their generous natures to the planter class at least in a social way. Few planters came to Illinois from the Southern States, the great mass of Southern people who did come were of the humbler sort. There are many things in common among people who settle a new country and these common things make for common concerns in many other ways. One thing in common with all settlers was a desire to better their condition. There were common dangers—the Indians and wild beasts were no respecters of persons. There were common dangers from the diseases and ailments which frequent a newly settled country. There were common hardships. The winters were severe alike to rich and poor. It required patience alike of the well-to-do and of the poor man. There must be patient waiting for the coming of the seasons, for the increase in the flocks, for the transforming of the virgin soil to the cultivated fields.

These things make for mutual hospitality. These things break down the barriers between individuals and between communities. These common elements in the life of the people solidify the people. They make it easy to centralize effort, to solve common problems, and to overcome common obstacles.

The stranger who is traveling through the country today finds among the people a lack of that form of sociability which the stranger would have found in the first part of the last century. In the days of the log cabin and the puncheon floor, no traveler was ever denied the shelter and the food which was necessary to one in need of them. This was as true of the well-to-do who back in the older states would have belonged to the planter class, as it was to the humble folk. "Hospitality of home and hearth, table and bed was quite universal." In fact there was a remuneration which the plain people received from the traveler if he were intelligent and had had a wide experience in his perambulations. There were no newspapers, no way by which the doings of the world outside of the restricted area of the local neighborhood, might be known, and it was worth all it cost to entertain the well informed traveler.

Among these people who came to the door of the humble pioneer home was the Irish linen peddler otherwise the "pack peddler." This method of bringing imported goods to the inland villages and communities was common in the first half of the last century. It was no uncommon sight in the early days to see a strong son of Erin with a large pack on his back, trudging his weary way along the better traveled roads, stopping at the houses and with the permission of the lady of the house, displaying a wealth of wares direct from the land of the "ould sod." If he were permitted to show his stock, he laid his pack on the floor, untied the four corners of an outer canvas and unwrapped with much care the attractive articles—table linens of the most artistic weave, scarfs, towals, table mats, handkerchiefs, and often articles of woolen or silk materials. At prices which this traveling store keeper asked for his goods, he carried many scores of dollars worth of material. If he remained over night with a family he used all his arts to pay his bill with some article from his pack.

Amusements

Amusements were of various kinds in the different sections of the settled parts of the country. From the earliest days horse racing was a common diversion. This pastime was brought from the older states, especially in Kentucky this form of amusement was very generally engaged in as it is to this day. The humor of raising fine horses was noticed as early as 1795. George Rogers Clark when he came to Kaskaskia in 1778 found the French were raising a very small farm horse which he called ponies. The breed was of Spanish origin and came into the Illinois country from the Southwest. As soon as the Americans began to arrive they introduced a larger breed of farm horses, and as early as 1800 there were breeds introduced adapted to use as saddle horses and as driving horses. In 1793 Col. Wil-

liam Whiteside came into what is now Monroe County from Kentucky, though formerly from North Carolina. He had remained long enough in Kentucky to acquire the love of fine horses. In 1795 he brought from Kentucky a celebrated blooded horse of the Janus stock. In the early days judges of horse flesh said this was the finest horse ever seen in Illinois. This horse sired many colts in the country that became noted race horses as time went on. In 1803 a famous race was run between two horses both sired by Colonel Whiteside's Janus. The owners made heavy bets on their horses. The race was to be three miles and return. The race took place on Horse Prairie, a rich undulating region some five miles southeast of Red Bud. There was a settlement there in 1803 of some dozen families. The race drew great numbers of people from St. Clair and Randolph counties. Governor Reynolds was a boy of thirteen and attended the race. He states that one-third of the male population of the territory was present, together with hundreds of the fairer sex. The race was won by Sleepy Davie. The winner became a very well known horse throughout the territory. Governor Reynolds says these famed races served a great end socially. He compares them to the Olympic games in Greece where all Greece sent her representative citizens who exchanged ideas with others and returned home to spread new ideas and to build up new ideals.

In addition to the advantages socially of these gatherings, there were other good results. Often at these races where hundreds of people assembled there were business transactions of various kinds. Debts were paid, stock bought and sold, electioneering in later times, and all forms of amusements such as foot-racing, wrestling, jumping, and shooting-matches were indulged in. It was not uncommon for those who had an eye to business to set up temporary trading stands where liquors were sold, and luncheons were served. Governor Reynolds thinks at this time that there were not to exceed three thousand souls within the Illinois territory.

Punishments

Some forms of punishment were extremely cruel. Branding was not a common form of punishment but it was practiced. Whipping was very common. The pillory and the stocks were used. Other forms were imprisonment, fines, loss of citizenship, and temporary slavery.

Some of the crimes and misdemeanors enumerated in the laws of the Indiana and the Illinois Territory were treason, murder, arson, rape, burglary, robbery, forgery, perjury, larceny, Sabbath-breaking, profanity, disobedience of parents, drunkenness, cock-fighting, gambling, duelling, and bribery.

Newspapers

There were two newspapers in Illinois Territory prior to the admission of Illinois into the Union. The first one established was The Illinois Herald. This paper was founded in Kaskaskia as early as 1809, so Reynolds says. The proprietor was Mathew Duncan, a brother of Joseph Duncan who was governor of Illinois from 1834 to 1838. Mathew Duncan was from Kentucky, and belonged to a very prominent family. There is a lack of information as to the date of the first publication of this paper. The oldest copy on file bears date April 18, 1816. It is number 32, volume 2. It has been worked out and shown that if the publications were weekly and continuous, the first issue would have been published September 6, 1814. The Missouri Republican which was established in 1808 has no mention of The Illinois Herald, 1814. The two towns were neighbors and it would seem that the Republican would have said something if the paper was running prior to 1814. In 1817 the Herald was sold to Daniel P. Cook and Robert Blackwell. The name was changed to The Illinois Intelligencer. Daniel P. Cook was a brilliant young statesman and a successful lawyer. He had been in politics and had served as auditor of public accounts. Cook assumed the editorship while Blackwell had charge of the business end of the enterprise. At first the paper was a folio of three columns to a page, the new proprietors changed it to a four-column sheet. When the capital was moved from Kaskaskia to Vandalia in 1820, the paper was moved and continued as The Illinois Intelligencer. When the slavery fight came in 1823-4, the Intelligencer was opposed to slavery and therefore opposed the convention.

The second newspaper established in Illinois was called The Illinois Emigrant. In later years the name was once more changed to The Shawneetown Gazette. This paper was against slavery in Illinois.

Centers of Settlement

In populating a new country there are certain methods that seem to be fitted to accomplish the ends in view. When Illinois first attracted the attention of the American settlers, just at the close of the Revoluntionary war, there were already five or more centers of settlement—probably others. These in order from south to north were Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, New Chartres, St. Phillipes, Prairie du Pont, and Cahokia. These were all French settlements and contained few if any Americans. The first comers came out of Kentucky or over the northern Appalachians and down the Ohio. Those coming directly out of Kentucky crossed over the Ohio at either Golconda or Shawneetown and made their way across Southern Illinois towards

the French settlements along the Mississippi River. Those who came down the Ohio from Pittsburg could debark either at Shawneetown or Golconda, or continue on down the Ohio and thence up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia.

In going from Golconda or Shawneetown to the French settlements, it was necessary to have a road over which wagons or carts could travel. These roads followed the old Indian trails and were worked out before 1800. John Reynolds says that when his father with two wagons and eight horses reached the Ohio River, on his way from Tennessee to Kaskaskia, he found the river full, and a beautiful stream. The ferry was known as Lusk's Ferry. They encamped for the night. Here they were deserted by three hired hands and felt alone on the edge of a wilderness. On a beautiful Sunday morning they crossed the river and began a journey of one hundred miles or more to Kaskaskia. They soon reached a road from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia. Here they found the trees scalped and the number of miles from Fort Massac cut with an iron instrument and painted red. Another road from Miles Ferry, some seven miles above Golconda, ran to Kaskaskia, almost parallel to the one from Golconda to Kaskaskia. This road was opened by one Capt. Nathaniel Hull, who in company with several other Revolutionary soldiers, left Massachusetts, came down the Ohio to a place called Ford's Ferry. Here he landed and cut a road to Kaskaskia. Ford's Ferry was afterwards called Hull's Landing and later Miles Ferry. It was at Miles Ferry that James Lemen landed with a company which afterwards settled at Bellefontaine, Monroe County.

In the very early days there was no settlements between Golconda and Kaskaskia. But settlements grew up and became very well known along these roads. The Jourdan settlement and the settlement which grew into Mount Vernon are two illustrations. The Hacker settlement in Union County is another illustration. The Goshen settlement near Edwardsville is one in point. The Whiteside settlement is another. Turkey Hill is an illustration. It was near Belleville. Phelps Prairie was an early center. Herrin's Prairie was an early settlement. Rock Springs the home of John Peck is an example. Shoal Creek in Bond was early settled. Wanboro was a settlement-center. Equality in Gallatin, Alabama settlement in Union County, Allison's Prairie, near Vincennes, Badgley's settlement, five miles northwest of Belleville.

Public Men

Before taking up the steps which Illinois took to get in the Union let us recall the men who have had to do with preparing Illinois for statehood. Some of the men whose names are considered in this list were active in Illinois after the state came

into the Union, but they also had to do with Illinois history prior to 1818.

Prominent Men

In a retrospect of the history of Illinois from the viewpoint of 1818, it may not be amiss to recall the names of men who helped to bring Illinois to the proud moment of statehood. It is not our intention to attempt any full description of the life and public services of the prominent people named below. Merely to recall in a very general way the more important things these people did. These men named, with others not named, are entitled to our sincerest thanks for giving their time and energy to laying the foundations of a great civil and political state.

The names are not arranged in alphabetical order, nor are they arranged in order of time, but were arranged in a sort of hit and miss order.

John Edgar was a native of Ireland and was well schooled. In the Revolutionary war he was a British naval commander on the Great Lakes. Toward the close of the struggle he gave up his position and made his way into the American lines where he became acquainted with General La Fayette. He later came to Kaskaskia. He was a man of considerable means. He came to Kaskaskia in 1784. Here he bought up large quantities of land and became prominent in the public affairs of the Illinois region. He served in positions of honor and trust. He was a member of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory which met at Chillicothe, Ohio, 1799. He served as a judge in the Illinois Territory. He was a major-general of the Illinois militia, receiving his appointment from the President. General Edgar and his wife lived in a fine old brick mansion just in the edge of Kaskaskia and were the most noted people in the Illinois Territory. General Edgar was the worshipful master of the first lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons in Illinois, chartered in 1806. He entertained General La Fayette when that distinguished guest visited Kaskaskia in 1824. He died in 1832.

John Doyle, too, was an Irishman. He taught school about New Design as early as 1790. He was a soldier with Colonel Clark and returned to the Illinois country as early as 1780.

Pontiac, an Indian chief, became a national character at the close of the French and Indian war. He was an Ottawa chief who conceived the idea of organizing a confederacy of all the Northwestern tribes for the purpose of opposing the occupation of the Northwest by the British. He kept the British from occupying some of the western posts for a period of three years. It required a large British army to suppress the uprising and, even then Pontiac was very loathe to desist. He was finally

placated. He was murdered in the village of Cahokia in 1769 and buried in St. Louis, Missouri.

Nathaniel Pope, the father of Gen. John Pope of the Civil war, was the first secretary under Ninian Edwards, governor of the Illinois Territory. He was connected with a family of distinction in Kentucky. He came into the upper Louisiana country in 1804. He lived at St. Genevieve, Missouri, from 1804 to 1809. He was highly educated, especially was he gifted in language. He was a lawyer of marked ability, and of admirable traits of character. In 1809 he was made secretary of the Illinois Territory. In 1816 he was elected a delegate in Congress where in 1818 he directed the movements for the admission of Illinois into the Union. The details have been given in a preceding chapter.

Father Claude Allouez was a priest who was prominent in the days of La Salle. He was familiar with the Indians about the Great Lakes as early as 1675. He reported the need of explorations to the governor of Canada and is said indirectly to have been responsible for Joliet and Marquette's journey into the Illinois country. He was not friendly to La Salle and was thought by some to have caused La Salle's ill fortune.

Lieutenant Boisbriant, the first military commandant of the Illinois country, arrived at Kaskaskia in the summer of 1718. He had charge of a company of French soldiers. He proceeded up the Mississippi and built Fort Chartres some four miles northwest of Prairie du Rocher. The fort was a wooden structure and stood till 1755. Lieutenant Boisbriant made the first grant of land to be held in "fee simple" that was made in Illinois. This was a grant about three miles wide and extending back into the country a distance of six miles, and made to Phillipe Francois de Renault. Boisbriant was made acting governor of Louisiana in 1725. He left Fort Chartres in charge of Captain de Liette and took up the duties of his new post at New Orleans.

John Mason Peck was a mission worker in the Baptist Church. He was a Connecticut Yankee who came to Illinois in 1817. He spent some time in Illinois and later moved to Missouri where he stayed a year or more when he returned to Illinois. The great work of the Rev. Mr. Peck was done after Illinois came into the Union, but he was identified with the Illinois country enough before 1818 to justify our putting him in the group of territorial worthies. We shall speak of him more fully in the following chapters.

Shadrach Bond, the first governor of the State of Illinois, was a native of Maryland, and his coming to Illinois was preceded by that of his uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr. The elder Bond arrived in the American Bottom opposite New Design in 1781. He had been a soldier with General Clark in the conquest of

Illinois in 1778. In conjunction with other immigrants coming from Maryland, the elder Bond built a fort in the bottoms west of the present City of Waterloo. He held many places of honor and responsibility. He was a sort of preacher, and was an exemplary citizen. Shadrach Bond, Jr., a nephew of the elder Bond, came to his uncle's home in the bottoms in 1794. He was a substantial citizen and the life of the social group of which he was a part. He took an active part in the War of 1812, was a delegate in Congress in 1813-15 and was the author of the pre-emption law as has been explained. In 1818 he was the only candidate for governor. His later life will be noticed later in this work.

John and William Bradsby were soldiers of the Revolution. They settled three miles north of Lebanon in the edge of Looking Glass Prairie. They were from Kentucky and were formerly from Ireland. They were the parents of a large number of children many of whom were prominent in the middle of the last century.

Zadoc Casey's father was an Irish emigrant before the Revolutionary war. He came to North Carolina and fought under Marion and Sumter in the conflict in the Southern States. Zadoc was born in 1796, married in 1815, came to Illinois in 1817, and settled at Mount Vernon in Jefferson County in that year. He is credited with the founding of that thriving city. He was the ancestor of a large number of people. He held many public offices and was highly esteemed by the people. He was elected lieutenant-governor in 1830, when John Reynolds came into office as governor. He was later elected to Congress.

George Rogers Clark was a native of Virginia, born November 19, 1752. His early life was genuinely pioneer. He received little or no education, lived on the frontier, was accustomed to the savage Indian and the wild animals, was schooled in the hard experiences of the times, and was ready for the kind of work his country offered him in 1778. He came into Kentucky early in 1775 and took an active part in making preparations for the defense of that country against the savages. He drilled the militia at Harrod's Station and at Boonsboro and was recognized as the best military commander in Kentucky. Clark was a delegate from the settlements in Kentucky to the Virginia Legislature. He was well known by Jefferson, Henry, Mason and other noted Virginians. In 1778 he was given authority by Virginia to invade the West and capture what was supposed to be British strongholds—Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit. His great success from 1778 to the close of the Revolutionary war is so well known that it need not be repeated here. Clark was sadly disappointed in not being able to lead an army against Detroit. From the day of his dramatic campaign against Vincennes in the early part of

1779, his fame began to decrease. He was given to periods of moroseness and lost his grip on men and affairs. Thomas Jefferson personally proposed at one time about 1783 to send Colonel Clark on an exploring tour across the western part of what is now the United States. The project fell through, but Colonel Clark's brother made the trip for Jefferson in 1803. Clark lived near Louisville, Kentucky, in his later days his own worst enemy. He died February 18, 1818.

Joseph Duncan was the fifth governor of Illinois. He was a Kentuckian and had the advantage of an early life in the cultured City of Paris. He was a minor officer with General Harrison in his invasion of Canada in the War of 1812. He was voted a sword by Congress for gallant conduct in the war. He came into Illinois and settled at the foot of Fountain Bluff in Jackson County, in 1818. There accompanied him his brother, Dr. John S. Duncan, a sister, Polly Anna, his mother who had married a Mr. Moore, and her son Ben. The Duncans brought several slaves to Illinois with them in 1818. Joseph Duncan built the "White House" on the bank of the Mississippi River and also erected a mill for grinding grain. He was a member of the Illinois Legislature in 1825 and introduced a bill to establish a free school system. This system will be discussed in a later chapter, as will the life and labors of Governor Duncan.

Thomas C. Browne, a prominent lawyer of Shawneetown, was a native of Kentucky. He came to Shawneetown in 1812, and began the practice of law. Reynolds says court was held on two boats moored to the bank. There were no houses in which to hold court. He was a member of the Illinois Legislature in 1814, prosecuting attorney for several eastern counties, later a member of the Legislative Council (or Senate). In 1818 he was chosen by the Legislature as a member of the Supreme Court which position he held for about thirty years.

Ephraim Conner was the first American settler in Madison County. He located just under the "Bluffs" six miles south and west of the present City of Edwardsville. This region was visited in 1799 by the Rev. David Badgley and others who called the country Goshen. This name was restricted to the settlement made by Connor. Mr. Connor sold his possessions to Col. Samuel Judy in 1801.

Samuel Judy came into Illinois in 1788 with his father, Jacob Judy, who was born in Germany and migrated to this country and settled in Maryland. He resided four years in Kaskaskia and then moved to New Design. It was here his son, Col. Samuel Judy, married into the Whiteside family and later bought out Ephraim Conner and moved to Goshen where he lived many long years. Colonel Judy was an Indian fighter and engaged in two famous personal conflicts in each of which he came out

the victor. He served in the Territorial Legislature, and took an active part in the War of 1812. He was a successful farmer and stock raiser, but suffered great loss by the ravages of "milk-sickness." He was one of the three trustees of the first penitentiary, at Alton.

John Clark was an early school teacher. He was a Scotchman, was well educated. He taught about Kaskaskia prior to 1790. He gave instruction in higher mathematics and philosophy.

Ninian Edwards was the territorial governor of Illinois Territory from 1809 to 1818. He was a Marylander, born in 1775. He received a college education. He moved to Kentucky where he entered upon the study of law. He became chief justice of the Court of Appeal which position he resigned in 1809 to accept the governorship of the Illinois Territory. He took an active part in providing defenses for the people of the territory in the War of 1812. He organized the militia, built forts and blockhouses, and worked admirably with the United States Government in protecting the people from the attacks of the savage red man. He was active in carrying on the work of admitting the Territory of Illinois into the Union as a state. He was one of the new state's first United States Senators. In 1826 he was elected the third governor of Illinois. He died in 1833. His son, Ninian Wirt Edwards, married Elizabeth P. Todd, a sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln.

John Messenger was one of the most brilliant men of the early days in Illinois. He was born in Massachusetts, in 1771. He passed his early years on a farm but gave diligent attention to the science of mathematics, studying under William Coit, a noted mathematician of Massachusetts. He was very practical. He not only knew scientific farming, but he was well versed in several trades as carpentry, millwright, and the profession of surveying. He migrated to Illinois and settled at New Design and operated a mill a few miles east of that village. In 1815 he was appointed a deputy United States surveyor and did quite a deal of work in the military tract, the land between the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers. He also surveyed considerable tracts in St. Clair County. In 1827, at the opening of Rock Springs Seminary, he was installed as the professor of mathematics.

William Rector was the oldest brother in a very noted family of nine brothers and four sisters. They were Virginians. Reynolds says they were a peculiar family, "ardent, excitable, and enthusiastic in their dispositions. They were passionate, fearless, but true hearted. They were given to military display and one of them, Capt. Nelson Rector, went into battle in the War of 1812 dressed in a rich and gaudy uniform. William Rector was a lieutenant in a company of United States

rangers. Thomas Rector killed Joshua Barton on Bloody Island, opposite St. Louis, about 1814. Nelson Rector accompanied Col. Zachary Taylor into Wisconsin on a military expedition about 1814. One of the nine brothers was later governor of Arkansas.

William Biggs was one of Gen. George Rogers Clark's gallant Marylanders in the Illinois campaign of 1778. He held the position of lieutenant in the campaign. Congress recognized his services and granted him three sections of land. After the close of the Revolutionary war he left his Maryland home and in company with two brothers he came to Bellefontaine, near New Design. Shortly after returning to Illinois, probably about 1788, he and a neighbor named Vallis were attacked by Indians on the road to Cahokia. Vallis was killed and Biggs was captured and carried away to the Wabash northeast of Vincennes. He was badly treated by his captors and was almost unable to walk when he got to the Indian camp on the upper Wabash. He was ransomed by a Spanish trader who was afterwards repaid for his outlay. He was a plain man, but full of business, and entirely dependable. He was sheriff of St. Clair County in 1790. He served in the Territorial Legislature of the Northwest Territory which convened at Chillicothe, Ohio. He was also a member of the Indiana Legislature in 1808. He also held the office of county judge. He manufactured salt on Silver Creek in Madison County. He was one of Illinois's most respected pioneers.

Thomas E. Craig was a citizen of Shawneetown, and served as captain in the War of 1812. He gained more notoriety than fame in conducting an expedition from the south end of Illinois to Peoria where he captured several men, women, and children whom he brought to a point below Alton where they were ordered from his boat to find shelter and food in the woods. He wrote an elaborate report to Governor Edwards about the expedition.

Francis Vigo was a Sardinian and a Spanish subject but no one individual rendered more service to Gen. George Rogers Clark and to the American cause than Vigo. He sold goods to Clark for his army and took the Virginian continental paper money at par. He also guaranteed its value to others who had goods to sell to Clark. He was a citizen of St. Louis at the time he rendered Clark such valuable service. But in his later years he lived near Vincennes. His help to Clark is described in the story of Clark's capture of Vincennes told in a previous chapter. In his last years he was often in want and his needs were ministered to by neighbors. At the same time the United States owed him about $20,000 for money and goods he had advanced to General Clark. He used to say, "I guess the Lord has forgotten me."

Nicholas Jarrot was a native of France, a member of a prominent family, a gentleman of education and culture. He left France and finally reached Cahokia by way of New Orleans, in 1794. He had no means when he landed at Cahokia and was without friends, but he later became the richest man probably in Illinois. He never was idle. He took no vacations. His greatest pleasure was work. He found time to serve the state as major of militia. He began business as soon as he landed in Cahokia. He engaged in trade with the Indians and sent his boats as far away as Prairie du Chien. He kept a store in Cahokia and marketed his furs in New Orleans. He took an honorable part in the War of 1812, supplying his troops with needed articles from his own purse. He acquired large holdings in land, and held stock in the Wiggins Ferry Landing on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. Among other things he was interested in building mills, and he did not always use good judgment as to the location of his mill. Major Jarrot built a fine brick house in Cahokia—said to have been the first brick house in St. Clair County. His first wife was Miss Barbeau of Prairie du Rocher, who died after the birth of her first son. Major Jarrot then married a Miss Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve. This lady is said to have been a woman of great culture and is said to have been of great help to her husband in many of his profitable undertakings.

James Andrews and his wife, three daughters, James White, and Samuel McClure settled a few miles northwest of Waterloo, Monroe County, prior to the year 1786. There were few white people in that region at that time. In the year just mentioned, the Indians began what appeared to be a well laid plan of extermination. The red devils fell upon the home of James Andrews, whom they killed, together with his wife, one daughter, and James White and Samuel McClure. The other two daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Andrews were carried away into captivity. One of the daughters died in captivity, the other was ransomed by some French traders. This was the first real massacre of American settlers by the Indians. It was a great shock to the few settlers who were in the settled parts of Illinois, and it aroused them to the great danger they were continually facing. This sad incident stimulated the whites to the work of defense, and forts and blockhouses were erected in every neighborhood, and the people provided for guards to be on duty in each neighborhood day and night.

David Badgley, a Baptist preacher, came from Virginia to the New Design settlement as early as 1796. In that summer, he with the help of Joseph Chance, organized the first Baptist church in New Design. So many Baptists had come to New Design that the membership of the church when first organized was twenty-eight. A few years later he organized another

Baptist Church in the American Bottom of fifteen members. He was what we call a revivalist, and did a great work in the pioneer times.

Black Partridge, a prominent Pottawattomie chief, was with his tribe at Fort Dearborn when the garrison of that fort was massacred. He wore a medal given him by Americans for some act of kindness. This he took from his breast and gave it to Captain Heald, saying he could no longer wear it since his people, the Pottawattomies, had determined upon taking the lives of his friends, the people in the fort. On the field of massacre Black Partridge rescued Mrs. Heald from the clutches of a savage who was striving to take her life. Black Partridge not only rescued her, but accompanied her back to her home near the fort. He not only did this but he guarded with all faithfulness the whites who were saved from the massacre. His home was in an Indian village at the head of the Peoria Lake.

Pierre Menard was the first lieutenant-governor of Illinois. He was born in 1767. He came from Canada to Vincennes in 1786. He was one of three brothers, all natives of Quebec. They belonged to a very prominent family. Pierre attached himself to Colonel Vigo in the Indian trade. This trade was partly supplying the American troops in the West with food supplies. In 1790 Pierre and one Du Bois of Vincennes entered into a partnership and established a store in Kaskaskia. Pierre Menard was a very conspicuous character among the men of his time. He had been well educated in Canada, but his experiences in the world had greatly developed his judgment and enlarged his outlook on life. He commanded great respect from the white people who knew him, and the Indians looked to him as their white father. Menard grew very wealthy and commanded the trade with the Indians and whites from Kaskaskia. He served in the Territorial Legislatures of both Indiana and Illinois, presiding with great dignity over the council of the Legislature in 1812. When the state was admitted into the Union in 1818 he was selected lieutenant-governor which position he held for four years. He was a patriotic citizen and laid stress upon the value of the civil and political institutions under which he lived. He lived in great style in an old French mansion on the east side of the Kaskaskia River opposite the town of Kaskaskia. Towering above his home were the great bluffs on top of which are the remains of the old fort called Fort Gage. Just back of his house is the spring from which flows a considerable stream just as it did in the happy days of 1800. He raised a very large family of sons and daughters whose descendants are to be found in Randolph County. In the home of a relative of Pierre Menard some few hundred yards from the old mansion are several pieces of old French furniture which

would make the eyes of the "old furniture" connoisseur open with wonder. But the owner seems to know the value of these priceless articles. Pierre Menard died in 1844, aged seventy-seven years.

The La Trappe Monks were a strange religious order which came into the American Bottom in 1809 and occupied what we now know as Monk's Mound situated some five or six miles northeast of the present City of East St. Louis. They had previously lived in Kentucky and a portion of them resided in Missouri, but in the year 1810 they commenced the erection of buildings on the largest of a score or more of the mounds which are found in the locality indicated. The principal building was a monastery which was of considerable dimensions—built of timbers. These monks were excellent mechanics, and gave considerable attention to the different breeds of stock. They found the locality very unhealthful and several of their number died, including two of their priests. Two vows were perpetual silence and celibacy. Reynolds, who often was at their monastery, said they were so averse to females that a woman was not allowed on their premises, and should one trespass, they quickly swept the ground where she had walked. If a visitor should try to talk with them they made signs that he could get information at a certain place on the grounds. They slept on the bare stone floor and fared on bread and water. Each day each one dug a part of his grave. They were poorly clad but were fat and hearty. They left the Mound in 1812.

James Lemen was a man to whom the people of Illinois are much indebted. He was a Virginian. He was a Revolutionary soldier at the age of seventeen, and served with Washington in the campaign about New York. He came to Illinois in 1786 shortly after his father-in-law, Capt. Joseph Ogle, had come West. He first made Kaskaskia his home but subsequently removed to New Design. He had always been of a very religious turn, but was not a professed Christian till he came under the influence of the Rev. James Smith, who preached in New Design in the summer of 1787. Mr. Lemen became a member of the Baptist Church and a fearless preacher of that faith. The Rev. James Lemen was the father of six sons and two daughters. The sons were Robert, Joseph, James, William, Josiah, and Moses. They all brought up large families and were all members of the Baptist Church. This family took an active part in the fight against the introduction of slavery in Illinois in 1824.

Isaac White was the United States agent stationed at the salt works near Equality when the War of 1812 was brewing. He was formerly a resident of Vincennes and a man of business capacity. He and Governor Harrison were intimate friends. Governor Harrison as territorial governor had had

control of the salt works at Equality and gave attention to the leasing of the wells and the collection of the rental. In 1804 Governor Harrison appointed Isaac White the agent at the works whose duty it was to collect the rentals due the Government. As the rents were paid in kind the agent must ship and market the part that fell to the Government. In 1806, Governor Harrison appointed Mr. White captain of a company of Knox County militia presumably organized about the salt works and about Equality. In 1809 Illinois Territory was separated from Indiana Territory and Isaac White became a major in the Illinois militia and still later he was appointed colonel of the Third Regiment consisting of two battalions. In the summer of 1811 Colonel White was in Vincennes and at the urgent request of Governor Harrison he consented to accompany the expedition that was then forming to attack the Indians on the upper Wabash. On September 19, 1811, he was raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason. On November 7, 1811, Colonel White and Colonel Daviess both fell at the head of their respective commands. White County was named in honor of Colonel White.

Conrad Will was of German parentage. His parents came from Germany as early as the latter part of the eighteenth century. Conrad was born in 1779, studied medicine, practiced in Somerset County where he married Susanah Kimmel in 1804. He visited Illinois in 1813, stopping awhile at Kaskaskia which was then a fairly thriving town. He rode over the settled portions of Illinois and when ready to return to Pennsylvania, he bought for gold a drove of cattle which he drove over the country to the Pennsylvania markets making a handsome profit. He then decided to move to Illinois for permanent residence. He located at a salt spring some four miles down the Big Muddy River from Murphysboro. Here he prepared to manufacture salt and at the same time practice medicine. He returned to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1816, and bought thirty cast iron kettles weighing 400 pounds each and holding sixty gallons of water, in which he boiled down the salt water. He was instrumental in getting Jackson County organized. This was done in 1816, and the capital was fixed at Brownsville, which was the home of Doctor Will, at the salt works. Brownsville grew to be a flourishing town. Doctor Will was one of the early county commissioners; he kept a store, practiced medicine, ran a saw and grist mill, and operated a tannery. Doctor Will employed slaves in his salt works under the indenture system, but the works never paid Doctor Will for all his labor and trouble and he discontinued the making of salt for the general market, and operated the works as a sort of local enterprise. Doctor Will was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818, the other delegate from Jackson County was James Hall, Jr. Doctor Will took a

very active part in the conduct of public affairs and was the associate of some of the most prominent men in early Illinois history. He was a very active man and though not succeeding financially, he lived a very useful life. He died in June, 1835. He was at the time of his death a member of the State Senate.

Jesse B. Thomas was a very prominent man in early Illinois history. He is said to have been a descendant of Lord Baltimore. He came from Maryland to the west as eary as 1803. In that year he settled in Indiana Territory and in 1805 was speaker of the Territorial Legislature. In 1809 he was a delegate in Congress from the Indiana Territory pledged to secure the separation of Illinois from the Indiana Territory. This he accomplished and while in Washington secured the appointment from President Madison to one of the judgeships of the newly organized territory. He resided first in Kaskaskia, but later joined the other territorial officials at the county seat of "Elvirade" not far from Prairie du Rocher. Later he moved to Cahokia where he built and operated a wool-carding machine. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention that made the Constitution of 1818 and presided over that body. He was one of Illinois's United States Senators and took an active part in the passage of the Missouri Compromise. He was reelected to the United States Senate in 1823 and served till 1829. He later moved from Illinois to Ohio where he is said to have died as a suicide.

Charles R. Matheny was a preacher in Illinois as early as 1806. He was also a lawyer, and in the War of 1812 he was a "ranger" in Capt. James B. Moore's company. He served in the Territorial Legislature representing St. Clair County in 1816-18. He practiced law before Judge Jesse B. Thomas and later was prosecuting attorney for St. Clair County. The Rev. Charles R. Matheny moved to Sangamon County in 1821 where he was circuit clerk of the court till 1839. He left five sons and three daughters. The five sons have all held honorable and responsible positions in business, in politics, in government, and in society.

James Moore was one of a party of five who came over the Alleghanies and made their way to Kaskaskia and thence to New Design as early as 1781. Two of the five had been soldiers with Clark in 1778-9. Mr. Moore was in the employ of Gabriel Cerre, a wealthy merchant of St. Louis. In this capacity he traveled as far south as Nashville, Tennesee. The Rev. John Mason Peck regarded Mr. Moore as a very worthy citizen. His name is in a list of 114 "heads of families" who are entitled to land grants of 400 acres each for having settled in Illinois Territory prior to 1788.

John Rice Jones was a Welshman, having been born in Wales in 1759. He was educated at Oxford University in medicine

and law, and came to Philadelphia in 1784 where he counted among his friends, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Meyers Fisher. He practiced law in Philadelphia a year or so, then came over the mountains and down the Ohio. At the Falls of the Ohio he found George Rogers Clark making up an army to go against the Indians on the Wabash. He volunteered and the expedition reached Vincennes in 1786. Here Mr. Jones was stationed for the next four years in a government capacity. In 1790 he went to Kaskaskia where he remained eleven years. He then returned to Vincennes where he received the appointment from Governor Harrison of attorney-general for the Indiana Territory. In 1808 he returned to Kaskaskia. At this time he is said to have been very rich. He did William Biggs, who had been captured by the Indians on the Wabash, a great favor by securing his release and helping him to return to his family at New Design. John Rice Jones was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, English-speaking lawyers in the Territory of Illinois. He was the father of several sons all of whom were men of considerable prominence in Western affairs.

John Reynolds was the best known person in Illinois in the first part of the nineteenth century. He was a native of Pennsylvania but his father and mother had migrated from Ireland in 1785. Young Reynolds with his parents came into Illinois by way of Tennessee where they tarried a few years, reaching Illinois in 1800. They were very well-to-do people. The son had received some education in Tennessee and had always had the assistance of his father and mother. They reached the Illinois country in the year 1800 at Golconda and made their way to Kaskaskia, expecting to pass beyond the Mississippi and settle on Spanish soil, but the elder Reynolds found that he would have to agree to bring up his children in the Catholic faith before the Spanish Government would allow him to acquire land and settle in Louisiana. He therefore settled two and a half miles east of Kaskaskia where six other Americans had already settled. The son was sent back to Tennessee to receive a college education. He studied law and returned in time to enter the "ranger" service in the War of 1812. Between 1815 the close of the War of 1812, and the admission of Illinois into the Union he was getting settled in the practice of law. In 1817 he married a French lady of Cahokia and they lived happily together till 1834 when she died. From her he learned the French language and became a very fine conversationalist in that tongue. He seems to have taken no part in the Constitutional Convention, but when the government was set in operation, he was selected as one of the four judges of the Supreme Court. Reynolds says that it was difficult for him to assume a position and air of dignity among officials and lawyers

with whom he had fought Indians and engaged in the social activities of a pioneer life. Governor Reynolds served on the Supreme bench till 1824 and was not reappointed because of his stand in favor of slavery in the fight to make Illinois a slave state. We shall hear much of John Reynolds in the early years of Illinois as a state.

William Morrison belonged to a very notable family in early Illinois history. He came from Pennsylvania in 1790, where he was born in Bucks County prior to the Revolutionary war. He is said to have had a limited education, but to have had a wide experience in the practical affairs of life. He was dignified and cultured beyond the average successful business man of his day. He was a man of commendable ambition and of wonderful foresight. He came to Illinois, and to Kaskaskia, as one of the firm of Bryant and Morrison of Philadelphia. This firm established a branch office and store in Kaskaskia, and from this place carried on extensive commercial transactions as far away as Prairie du Chien, Pittsburg, New Orleans, and even as far west as the Rocky Mountains. There were local branch stores at St. Louis, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. The firm enjoyed a large and profitable trade with the Indians at all of their stores and warehouses. Before 1800 he was encouraging the farmers to raise wheat which he bought at good prices. This was ground in General Edgar's mill on the east bank of Kaskaskia, and shipped to New Orleans for export, in flatboats that were built in Horse Creek which runs through Monroe and empties into the Kaskaskia River in Randolph County. He built and lived in an elegant stone mansion in Kaskaskia. In the War of 1812, he had Government contracts for the furnishing of rations for the troops and from these contracts he seems to have cleared large sums of money. He was very much given to public enterprise and was largely responsible for the building of two bridges across the Kaskaskia, one at the town of Kaskasia and one at Covington in Washington County. Mr. Morrison was a man of great energy and was always concerned in community welfare. He was in the best sense a lover of the society of ladies and was much in their company. He died in 1837.

Mrs. Robert Morrison, the wife of a brother of William Morrison, was a woman of rare culture and education. She was a native of Baltimore, Maryland. She had been from her early youth associated with the best people of that ancient city. She was of a romantic turn of mind and that accounts for her coming to the west in 1805 with a brother, Colonel Donaldson. She married Robert Morrison in 1806. Mrs. Morrison reveled in the fields of poetry. She remodeled in verse the Psalms of David. She wrote in both prose and verse. Some of her writings found

their way into the classical and scientific magazines of the day. She reared an interesting family.

William Whiteside and quite a few others of the same family name came from North Carolina by way of Kentucky to Illinois in the year 1793. William settled near New Design. There were several families in the group headed by William Whiteside and they all settled in the region of the village of New Design. William Whiteside had been a soldier in the Revolutionary war having fought in the battle of King's Mountain. The Whiteside family was a warm hearted, patriotic, and faithful family. William Whiteside built a fort just north of New Design on the road to Cahokia. It was called Whiteside's Station. This was probably one of the best known places of safety in the country in 1812-15. Mr. Whiteside's military training in the Revolutionary war gave him prominence as a leader in the work of offensive and defensive warfare. Many stories are told of the conflicts with the Indians. Mr. Whiteside received the title of captain probably before the title came officially. In 1811 he was elected colonel of militia in St. Clair County. In the War of 1812, the Whitesides were very active and the records show that William was not adverse to addressing communications to President Madison about the conduct of the war. Following the War of 1812, Colonel Whiteside gave his attention to his farm at the "Station." Very high praise is given to Colonel Whiteside by Governor Reynolds who knew him very well. "His frontier life, with the Indian war and all its dangers and perils impending over him for many a year, developed his mind and made him a grave, reflecting man." He died at the "Station" in 1815, remembered and mourned by the whole population.

John Kinzie, always remembered in connection with the Fort Dearborn massacre, was born in Canada, of Scotch parents, at the close of the French and Indian war. From Canada young Kinzie was brought to Long Island to attend school. He ran off from school and returned to Quebec, where he partially learned the silversmith trade. He later engaged in general trade at Detroit, and other cities about the lakes. In 1804 he and his wife and a child made the journey from Detroit to Chicago on horseback through the woods and across rivers. They followed an Indian trail from Detroit through Ypsilanti, Niles, and St. Joseph, and around the southerly bend of the lake to the newly established Fort Dearborn. They camped each night and the journey must have been a long tiresome one for a woman and a six months old child. When he arrived at Fort Dearborn he bought a small hut from a French trader by the name of Le Mai. This hut, originally a trading station, was improved from time to time and eventually became the home of Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie. This hut which became by enlargement and improvement the

spacious home of the Kinzies stood on the north side of the Chicago River just opposite the fort, which stood on the south side. Here Mr. Kinzie built up a large trade, having trading stations at various points in the northern part of what is now Illinois. In 1811 Captain Heald superseded Captain Whistler as commander at the fort. John Kinzie was now quite well acquainted with all the conditions about Fort Dearborn so far as the attitude of the Indians toward the presence of United States troops in Illinois was concerned. He was able, as a friend to both Indians and whites, to render the greatest service in the trying times through which they were passing. John Kinzie urged the evacuation of the fort as soon as the situation became alarming, but Captain Heald was slow to take advice, and when he did decide to abandon the fort, John Kinzie saw it was too late. John Kinzie and his wife came through the dreadful ordeal with no physical injuries, but they were carried away into captivity and did not return until 1816, when Mr. Kinzie again entered into the trade which was so rudely disturbed at the time of the Fort Dearborn massacre. He died in Chicago in 1828. His funeral was held in the fort and he was buried nearby, but the body was in after years moved to the beautiful Graceland Cemetery, where it now lies.

Father Pierre Gibault was the priest in charge of the Catholic Church at Kaskaskia at the time of the arrival of George Rogers Clark. He was also the vicar-general for a large territory with Kaskaskia as the center. The priest was the leader of a group of the most prominent people in the town who called upon Clark the next morning after the capture to intercede for his people. The priest and Clark soon found common ground on which they could stand and they became good friends. Father Gibault went on a mission for Colonel Clark to Vincennes, where he was able to win to the American cause the French of that village also. In many ways Father Gibault rendered valuable service to the American cause. He furnished considerable amounts of goods and money to Colonel Clark's army when there was no chance of getting them from the Government, and so far as we have been able to determine, the Government never made any serious effort to reimburse him. This case of Father Gibault seems to be one more proof that republics are ungrateful. Father Gibault died about 1800, very much broken in spirit.

George Fisher practiced medicine and held office in Kaskaskia for a good many years. He was a Virginian. He came to Illinois before the end of the eighteenth century. He kept store for a while. Governor Harrison appointed Doctor Fisher the first sheriff of Randolph County. He sat in the Indiana Territorial Legislature, and in the first assembly in the Illinois Territory. He was a very popular man. He sat in the convention that framed the first Constitution for Illinois. There was scarcely

a year that he did not hold some kind of an office. He died on his farm, near Kaskaskia, in 1820.

Alexander Wilson came to Shawneetown about 1809. He was a member of the first Territorial Legislature under Governor Edwards. He died in 1812. He left an interesting family behind him. He had contributed to the permanent well being in many ways. The Legislature, in recognition of his services, granted to his heirs a perpetual right to operate a ferry across the Ohio at Shawneetown. Maj.-Gen. James H. Wilson, a descendant of Alexander Wilson, was a distinguished general in the Civil war. Maj. Henry S. Wilson and Maj. Bluford Wilson were officers in the Civil war.

Jacob Short was a captain in the War of 1812. He had come to Illinois in 1796 in company with four other pioneers named Griffin, Gibbons, Roberts, and Valentine. They settled between New Design and the Mississippi River. The place seemed undesirable, so they moved their settlement in the course of a few years, but not till they had buried some of their dead in the neighborhood graveyard. In 1811 Jacob Short and Moses Quick built a flatboat on the north bank of the Kaskaskia, about a mile below the present town of New Athens, in St. Clair County. The craft was loaded with beef cattle and corn and in March of that year the boat floated out in the Mississippi and on to New Orleans, where the cargo and boat were sold at a good profit. The men returned on horseback to their homes in the late summer. This was the first flatboat that was built that high up on the Kaskaskia. Jacob Short was a captain in the regiment authorized by Congress to be raised in Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri and known as the Rangers. The regiment was in command of Col. William Russell, of Kentucky. Illinois was entitled to four companies out of the ten, and the captains were Capts. Jacob Short, Samuel Whiteside, William B. Whiteside, and James B. Moore. It will be remembered that Illinois Territory passed from a first class territory to a second class in 1812. In selecting members of the Lower House from St. Clair County, the people chose Jacob Short and Joshua Oglesby. Captain Short was selected by the Legislature of the Territory of Illinois as a member of a committee of seven to select a new site for the county seat of St. Clair County. Cahokia had been the county seat for more than two decades, but was still given over to French life and ways, and the Americans were desirous of locating the new capital where the town would be free from French influence. Belleville was selected as the new location. Capt. Jacob Short was a dependable citizen and was concerned with all activities which would contribute to the on-going of the community life.

Moses Quick was one of three sons of Isaac Quick who came to Illinois from New Jersey by way of Pennsylvania. The

elder Mr. Quick settled near the present town of Mascoutah, St. Clair County, in the year 1806. The older of the three Quick boys, Aaron, married Lucy Preston, of Virginia, and reached St. Clair County and settled near Belleville in 1809. Here he bought a thousand acres of land and became one of the rich men of St. Clair County. Aaron Quick was one of the first school teachers of St. Clair County. He is said to have been a man of a high grade of intelligence, accompanied by a liberal self-culture and general information. Aaron Quick died in Belleville in 1816. He was a man of fine social qualities and leader in a wide circle of friends and relatives. Moses Quick was an adventurous sort of man and was engaged in a number of enterprises. He owned a mill near Belleville, on Richland Creek, and a farm adjoining. It is said that in this mill was ground the first flour manufactured in St. Clair County. The proprietor shipped 200 barrels of flour from this mill to New Orleans in 1816. The following advertisement appeared in the Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser on April 27, 1816:

FOR SALE

A SAW MILL, now in full plight, and equal if not superior to any in the territory, and a Grist Mill partly built, which can be put in operation at a small expense. Also, 167 acres of well-timbered land, situated one mile from Belleville, Illinois Territory.

April 26. Moses Quick.

The records show the mill and land were sold for $3,000. Moses Quick moved from Illinois in later years and resided in Mississippi. He was engaged in steamboat navigation on the Mississippi River and was very prosperous. The daughters of the elder Mr. Quick married into the best families in St. Clair County and their descendants number hundreds of good people in this end of the state. The sons and grandsons also have taken high rank in the social and political world. A son of Aaron Quick, the Hon. Thomas Quick, was a resident of Washington County and was instrumental in establishing the State Agricultural College at Irvington in 1861. He was afterward one of the trustees of the first board for the State University at Champaign.

John Gabriel Cerre has not been generally recognized as having a very important part in the making of Illinois history; but in recent years his connection with public men in the early part of the history of Illinois, and his general activity in business enterprises, have seemed to justify the changed attitude of the students of Illinois history. He was a Canadian Frenchman, born in 1734. As early as 1755 he was engaged in the Indian trade along the Mississippi River, and was settled in Kaskaskia, the "little Paris in the wilderness," in the last mentioned year. He

married in Kaskaskia in the year 1764. His wife was Catherine Girard, whose parents had come to Kaskaskia in 1729, and were known as one of the "first families" of this Western Paris. Mr. Cerre had his enemies, and when Clark reached Kaskaskia, they banded together to do him harm. Cerre was away from the little village, but returned and faced his accusers. Clark soon saw through the plans of Cerre's enemies, and thenceforth Clark and Cerre were the best of friends. In 1779 he bought out a business in St. Louis and opened in that town a trading emporium of large proportion. He assisted in the municipal affairs in St. Louis, but seems to have remained in Kaskaskia as a citizen of that place. But eventually he took up his residence in the Spanish village. In 1786 a committee of Congress sent a "questionnaire" to Mr. Cerre asking him seven questions as to the condition of the Illinois country. He answered very fully and clearly the questions, showing not only that he was perfectly familiar with conditions in Illinois, but showing a marked sympathetic interest in the welfare of its people. He was all his life a great friend of Illinois.

Benjamin Ogle was a native of Virginia who with his family came to St. Clair County about 1785. He was shot by Indians while he was engaged in farm work in 1788. He recovered from his wounds and became a very efficient Indian scout. His son, Joseph Ogle, was a doctor and a brilliant Indian scout. He was a Methodist class leader. The Methodists found his home always open to the work of that church. There were many descendants of this father and son and St. Clair still has many Ogles.

Henry Levens came into Illinois in 1797 from the western part of Pennsylvania. He came down the Ohio and debarked at Fort Massac. He moved from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia with two wagons, one pulled by horses and one by oxen. He mounted a large skiff on one wagon for a wagonbed and to be used as a ferry in crossing the swollen streams. He was twenty-five days going from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia. When they had reached Kaskaskia, they attracted a great deal of attention, for all the members of the family were musicians; they played the violin and other instruments and they all danced. So their home became a sort of social center in the town. He did not stay long in the village, but moved to a spacious home on Horse Creek, which flows into the Kaskaskia just a mile or so above the present town of Evansville. Here he erected a large sawmill, where all the lumber for flatboats was sawed out. The family became very prosperous, though they gave much of their time to amusements. Reynolds says this family was a true pioneer family. They eventually moved to Missouri—probably to keep in the front line of the pioneer life.

Elias Kent Kane was not an early comer. He arrived in 1814.

He was from New York and was highly educated. He was a lawyer of excellent preparation, and was gifted with the characteristics of a high-bred gentleman. He was an eloquent public speaker, was the first secretary of state for Illinois, served in the Legislature, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1824. He was reelected and died while at Washington in 1835. He was an able lawyer, an uncompromising champion of slavery.

Daniel Pope Cook was another brilliant young man whose race was short. He hailed from Kentucky. He came to St. Genevieve, Missouri, in 1811, where he worked as a clerk in a store. He was poor, without friends, and contending with the incipient ravages of a dreaded disease. He left St. Genevieve for Kaskaskia, where he studied law under Judge Nathaniel Pope. He passed his bar examination in 1815 at the age of twenty-two years. His health began to fail as a result of great mental strain and he travelled in warm countries for his health. He was sent with secret messages to John Quincy Adams, who was our minister at the court of St. James. On his return he was appointed to a judgeship in the western part of Illinois. In 1820 he was elected to the United States Senate over John McLean, of Shawneetown. "His career in Illinois was brief, but elevated and conspicuous."

Thomas C. Browne, a Kentuckian, was a conspicuous public man in early Illinois history. He came to Shawneetown, having studied law in his native state. Reynolds says before they had a courthouse or any public hall where court could be held, they improvised a courthouse by pulling two flatboats up to shore side by side, one being used by the grand jury and the other by the trial court. Mr. Browne is supposed to have practiced in this court. He served in the Legislature with Philip Trammel, from Gallatin County. He was for a time prosecuting attorney for the counties along the Ohio. In 1816 he was elected to the Council (or Senate) of the Legislature, which position he held when the territory was admitted into the Union. He was chosen one of the members of the Supreme Court in 1819. This position he held for a quarter of a century. In 1822 he was one of four candidates for governor. The other three were Chief Justice Joseph Phillips, Maj.-Gen. James B. Moore, and Edward Coles. Phillips and Browne divided the slavery vote and Coles was elected. Browne was brilliant but not a hard student, and for this lack of application he was severely criticised. "Honor, integrity, and fidelity were prominent traits of his character."

Thomas Carlin was not surpassed by any pioneer in bringing Illinois up to the statehood. He did not begin his labors as early as some, but he was continually serving the people and the state in some commendable way. He came on the scene in 1811. He was of Irish extraction and, like many young men of that

people, he was poor and without friends—two very serious handicaps. His education was very meager. He was a private with Capt. William B. Whitesides in the War of 1812. In 1813 he marched under the orders of General Howard. At the close of the war he located near the present city of Carrollton, in Greene County. He was the first sheriff of Greene County. While living on his farm in Greene County he was often selected to serve in the Legislature. He also was receiver of public moneys at Quincy, which position he filled with great credit to himself and with perfect satisfaction to the Government. We shall hear of him later as governor of Illinois.

Charles Gratiot is one of the men to be honored in connection with the pioneer history of Illinois. He was a Swiss Huguenot. He was put in school in London, where he came under the influence of wealthy merchants. From these men he developed a genius for trade, and at the close of his term of school he went to Canada, where he entered a partnership with Kay & McRae. The field of operations extended over Canada and the Northwest—from the Falls of St. Anthony to the mouth of the Ohio. Charles Gratiot was the master mind in this great enterprise. Prior to 1774 he worked principally in the North, but in that year he came to the Illinois country and established trading centers at Cahokia and Kaskaskia. It was at the time he had reached the height of his commercial activity, and at a time when his influence with Indians and French was widespread, that George Rogers Clark arrived at Kaskaskia. It was now that Charles Gratiot proved a friend indeed. Clark's army was destitute of food and clothing, and if it had not been for such generous spirits as Vigo, Cerre, Gibault and Gratiot, what would have become of the far flung victories of Colonel Clark and his Virginia Long Knives? Charles Gratiot had a generous heart toward the American cause and he opened it wide for the American patriots. Gratiot paid the French and Spanish citizens for the food and clothing of which Clark's army stood in need. "His heart and soul were enlisted in the cause of human freedom. The blood of the country of Tell burned in his veins and all his means were exhausted in the glorious conquest of Illinois." Charles Gratiot was never reimbursed for his expenditures for Clark's army. In his later years he abandoned his commercial enterprises and gave himself up to domestic employments. The Gratiot family was an extensive connection in Illinois and Missouri.

Thomas Forsyth was a half-brother of John Kinzie, the Indian agent at Fort Dearborn in 1812. He was brought up among the Pottawattomies and was very influential among them. In the War of 1812 Mr. Forsyth was heartily in favor of the Americans. Since he knew the Pottawattomies so well, he was at all times well posted as to the temper of the red men. He lived in

Peoria and mingled freely with the Indians along the Illinois River. In 1812 Mr. Forsyth was in St. Louis on business, and while there had a conference with Governor Clark about the seriousness of the situation, more particularly in Illinois. He also visited Governor Edwards at Kaskaskia. Governor Clark had Forsyth appointed a secret Indian agent for the Government. It needed to be kept secret, because the Indians would have turned against him and he could have had no influence with them. His home in Peoria placed him in the midst of the territory whence might come the greatest danger. When Forsyth heard of the Fort Dearborn massacre, he proceeded to the Indian towns along the Illinois River with the hope that he could render aid to the unfortunate Americans. This was even then considered very dangerous by Forsyth himself. He practiced a little diplomacy on this trip. He took some old Frenchmen who had married Indian squaws, together with their wives and children, and without arms, powder, or lead, he went to the relief of the distressed Americans. He rendered timely service and returned to Peoria. In the fall of 1812, Capt. Thomas Craig, with two boats and a company of militia, appeared in Peoria to investigate a report that Forsyth and certain Frenchmen were causing all the unrest among the Indians. Craig captured more than three scores of men, women, and children, among whom was Forsyth. They were brought down to the mouth of the Missouri and unloaded in the woods on the Illinois side. Forsyth helped these people to St. Louis and himself returned to Peoria. After the war he was engaged in agency work for the Government, in which capacity he rendered very acceptable service.

Lewis and Clark were two Virginians who performed a great service for the United States. They had very little to do directly with early Illinois history, but their short stay in Illinois is an interesting short chapter and is worth the telling. Meriwether Lewis was private secretary to Thomas Jefferson; William Clark was a brother of George Rogers Clark. Jefferson got an appropriation to pay the expenses of a mission to the Indians upon the upper Missouri. It was Jefferson's plan to extend the mission's work to an exploration to the Rockies and beyond. Lewis and Clark were ordered to prepare an expedition to start in the spring of 1804. Lewis was a captain and Clark was a lieutenant in the regular army. They made their camp in the winter of 1803-4 at or near the mouth of Wood River, three miles below the present city of Alton. Here they gathered supplies, men and information. In doing so they visited Cahokia, St. Louis, and other centers of population. Reynolds says there were thirty-four men in the party, but there were probably more than that number by the time they started, May 14, 1804. Some of the party were recruited from the frontier, as Reynolds gives the names of Thompson, Collins, Willard, Newman, Windsor,

Frazier, and Gibson as having returned from the overland journey and settled in Illinois. There were no settlements as far north as this camp established by Lewis and Clark in 1803.

Governor Reynolds in his "Pioneer History of Illinois" is careful in giving sketches of the pioneers to point out those who had been Revolutionary soldiers, and particularly to mention the fact that they served with Colonel Clark in his companies in Illinois in 1778 to 1781. And while the men whose names appear below may have been given above as among the pioneers, a separate list is given below as a matter of convenience for those especially interested in the Revolutionary patriots. The first two soldiers were not with Clark, but all the rest of the list were with Clark on some of his expeditions.

Revolutionary Soldiers

William Whiteside was from North Carolina. He fought in the battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780. The British force of 1,000 men, under Colonel Ferguson, was either killed or captured to a man. This Revolutionary hero arrived in 1793.

John Whiteside, a brother to William, was also a Revolutionary soldier in North Carolina. He came to Illinois and settled at Bellefontaine in 1793.

Joseph Anderson was one of Clark's soldiers. He returned with others from beyond the Ohio and settled on Nine Mile Creek, east of the Kaskaskia River.

James Vurry showed soldierly qualities in the capture of Kaskaskia and the fort at Vincennes. He was out hunting on Nine Mile Creek when he disappeared, supposed to have been killed by Indians. His body was never found.

George and Ichabod Camp were enrolled with Clark's army. They settled on Camp's Creek, in Randolph County. They afterwards moved to St. Louis and settled at Camp Spring, west of the city.

William Biggs was a Revolutionary soldier at the age of twenty-three. Congress granted him a tract of land for his services. He had many "hair-breadth 'scapes" in his pioneer life. He held many offices.

John Doyle was a school teacher. He helped win the Revolutionary war. He taught about Kaskaskia after 1790.

---------- Bowen was with Clark, and after the war he returned to Illinois, in company with three other ex-soldiers, Piggott, Doyle and Whitehead, and settled near Kaskaskia.

John Dodge settled in Kaskaskia in 1783. He is recorded as being entitled to a land grant of 400 acres. He was related to the noted Dodge family, early pioneers of Illinois.

John Hilterbrand, together with a Revolutionary soldier by the name of Tell, settled on Nine Mile Creek and made quite a few improvements. This was in 1780.

David Pagon settled just across the Kaskaskia River opposite the village. Pagon built a house some two miles farther east, where he resided in 1788.

Thomas Hughes helped Clark in his Illinois campaigns. He was a Pennsylvanian and returned to Illinois in 1783. On his way down the Ohio, near Fort Massac, he was murdered, and also his baby. The mother and others escaped and finally reached Kaskaskia.

George Lunsford settled first near Kaskaskia. Later he and Colonel Judy bought the "sugar loaf," some five or six miles south of Cahokia. This was a round top hill which attracted much attention.

Richard McCarthy sounds as if he were an Irishman, but he commanded a company from Cahokia on the march to Vincennes in February, 1779. He was a miller and built a mill on Cahokia Creek, about a mile south of the Relay Depot, East St. Louis.

James Piggott came back to Illinois with other soldiers in 1781. He settled at New Design and was very active in promoting religious life of the community.

Robert Kidd was one of Clark's soldiers. After being discharged, he went to his home in Maryland, and in company with other soldiers came to Illinois about 1781. He came from Pittsburg to Kaskaskia by water.

Robert Whitehead was one of a half dozen men who came into Illinois as early as 1781, most of them returned soldiers. They settled in the bottoms south of Cahokia.

Larkin Rutherford was one of the Clark men who came with Whitehead and Kidd, mentioned above.

Levi Teel was not only a British fighter, but he was an Indian fighter. He was once transfixed to a cabin floor by a spear in the hands of an Indian. He was near a door and the spear was driven through his foot. He was otherwise badly wounded, but his companion saved him and got him back to Kaskaskia, two miles distant.

Groots belong to the settlement near Goshen, in Madison County.

Robert Seybold was one of Clark's soldiers who was associated with Hilterbrand, Camp, Teel, and others. Some of these men came into Illinois direct from Fort Jefferson.

John Montgomery was a captain in Clark's little army and later was made a major. He took Rocheblave a prisoner to Williamsburg, Virginia. He returned to Illinois in 1783 and built a home a few miles east of Kaskaskia, on the trail to Vincennes, where he operated a mill.

Interesting Places

Places are sometimes as interesting as persons. There can of course not be so many interesting places as there are persons

in the pioneer history of a region. Many of the people gather about certain places—the place remains for generations, but men come and go. A few of the most interesting places are given. Probably some have been omitted.

Falling Spring was a curiosity to the early travelers along the road from Prairie du Pont to the New Design settlement. The water gushed from a crevice in the rock wall forty or fifty feet above the level ground below. A flouring mill was erected here.

Fountain Creek was a small stream that ran west through the present county of Monroe and across the American Bottom into the Mississippi River.

Fort Massac was a point of debarkation for immigrants coming down the Ohio and desiring to reach points in the south end of the Illinois Territory.

The Big Spring was on the road from Waterloo to Whiteside Station. Here was a hard battle between Capt. N. Hull and eight settlers and a score of Indians in May, 1791. The Americans came out victors.

Bellefontaine was a village a mile north of New Design.

Horse Prairie lies west of the Kaskaskia River and east of Horse Creek. The early Americans found wild horses on this prairie—they had escaped from the French villages.

Elvirade was the country home of Governor Edwards. It was located not far from Prairie du Rocher.

Embarrass River is a stream that rises in Douglas County and flows south through Coles, Cumberland, Jasper and southeast through Lawrence.

Grand Tower, a perpendicular rock, rising from the rocky bed of the Mississippi opposite Grand Tower Village. It is forty or fifty feet high, according to the various stages of the river.

Starved Rock, a perpendicular bluff about 125 feet high, located on the Illinois River a few miles below Ottawa. Here is where LaSalle and Tonti built Fort St. Louis.

Buffalo Rock is between Starved Rock and Ottawa and is larger but not so high as Starved Rock. They are prominent parts of the bluffs that skirt the Illinois River.

Piasa Bluffs are high rocky bluffs which skirt the Illinois side of the Mississippi between the mouth of the Illinois River and Alton. Here is where Marquette saw the painting on the rock.

Shiloh, a settlement six miles northeast of Belleville. Here Bishop McKendree held a camp meeting in 1807.

Hull's Landing, a point on the Ohio about seven miles above Golconda, where Captain Hull landed in 1780. There was a road from this point to Kaskaskia.

Lusk's Ferry was established at Golconda probably some time prior to the coming of George Rogers Clark.

Prairie du Rocher was a French village some three or four miles southeast of Fort Chartres. It was founded about 1720.

Big Bay Creek settlement was some miles south of Golconda. It was settled in 1803 and grew to be a prosperous settlement.

Turkey Hill was a French and Indian trading post many years before the Americans came. It was four miles southeast of Belleville and was settled by Americans in 1798. It was the second most important American settlement in the early part of the last century.

Cahokia was located some three miles down the river from the present East St. Louis. It was the county seat till Belleville was laid out in 1814.

Cahokia Creek rises in Macoupin County and flows south through Madison and empties into the Mississippi near the village of Cahokia. It was a well-known stream in early Illinois history.

The Ohio Salt Works were located near the present town of Equality, in Gallatin County. They were flourishing in the early part of the last century.

Monk's Mound, the largest of the artificial mounds to be seen some five or six miles northeast of St. Louis. The largest and two or three scores of the smaller ones have been purchased by the state for $50,000. The largest will be examined by scientific men to determine its age, its purpose and its mode of construction.

Brownsville was located on the Big Muddy River, some four miles below the present city of Murphysboro. There were salt works there as early as 1817 or 1818. It was the first county seat of Jackson County.

Jonesboro was the first county seat of Union County. It is about forty miles north of Cairo. It is in the midst of beautiful natural scenery.

Cairo, at the mouth of the Ohio River, was settled as early as 1805 by a family by the name of Bird.

The American Bottom was an extensive stretch of alluvial land reaching from the present city of Alton to the City of Chester. It is from two to five miles wide, lying between the Mississippi River and a long line of bluffs. With two or three exceptions, all the early settlements were in the American Bottom.

Partridge's Town was an Indian village at the north end of Peoria Lake, on the east side of the Illinois River.

The Big Muddy River is a fairly good sized stream which rises in Jefferson County, flows south through Jefferson and Franklin and west through Jackson into the Mississippi below Grand Tower.

Looking Glass Prairie, a large prairie lying in the eastern part

of St. Clair County. This prairie was visited by Charles Dickens in 1842. Mr. Dickens had never seen a prairie, and his St. Louis friends took him out to see this prairie. A decade ago his son also went from St. Louis to see Looking Glass Prairie.

Wiggins Ferry was the means of crossing the Mississippi from Illinoistown (now East St. Louis) to St. Louis.

Nine-Mile Creek was a settlement of that name on a creek of the same name some miles northeast of the Village of Kaskaskia.

Belleville was laid off as a town in 1814, and the county seat of St. Clair County moved there from Cahokia in the same year.

Camp Russell, or Fort Russell, was located about one and a half miles northwest of Edwardsville. It was built in 1812 as a sort of advance post of civilization.

Kickapoo Town was a village of the Kickapoo Indians near the Elk-Heart Grove, in what is now Sangamon County.

Savage's Ferry was just below the mouth of the Missouri and is the point where Captain Craig unloaded the Peorians in 1812.

Goshen was a settlement a few miles south and west of Edwardsville. It was below the bluffs.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE TRANSITION

Travel and Transportation—The Flat Boat—The Steamboat—The National Road—The Frontier Line—Education—The Ordinance—Free School Law—Population Centers—Trade and Commerce—The Sangamon Country.

It was the part of wisdom in those who urged the admission of the Territory of Illinois into the union as one of the family of states. From 1818 to 1830, there was a wonderful impetus to every line of human endeavor which marks the separation of a highly prosperous, progressive, people from unprogressive and indifferent communities who remain in the same institutional ruts from decade to decade. This growth is seen in the industrial, educational, religious, political, and social changes which began as soon as it was evident that the Territory of Illinois would become a state.

Travel and Transportation

Nothing will contribute to the growth and development of a new country so much as agreeable and safe means of ingress and egress. There must be routes of travel and means of communication between a new state and the older and more civilized regions of the earth, or the new state will languish and eventually perish.

As for the new State of Illinois—no American state was ever so blessed with natural means of communication with the outside world. The Mississippi gave the people of the new state a direct line of intercourse with the most civilized and refined portions of the old world. In the period of which we write, the ships of nearly every country on the earth unfurled their flags in the harbor of New Orleans. The silks, and satins, the carpets, and rugs, and tapestries of Arabia, Persia, and Indian; the coffees, teas, spices, and fruits of the tropical world; the jewelry, diamonds, carved wood, and the hand-tooled leathers of the overcrowded cities of the old world; woolens, cottons, boots, shoes, hats, gloves and furs from the western parts of Europe; farming implements, tools, machinery for the "infant industries," and carriages from the factories of England, France, and other states of the old world—filled the warehouses of New Orleans and awaited shipment up the Mississippi to the distributing

cities of the interior—Natchez, Nashville, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and a score or more trade centers of lesser importance.

There lay on the miles of wharf at New Orleans ready for transhipment to the hungry peoples of the earth, the products of the crude farms, and the rich prairies, and the fatness of the forests of Illinois and other interior states. Millions of bushels of wheat, thousands of barrels of flour, tons of pork in various forms, beef on foot, sheep and other animals ready for the holds of the great ocean going vessels. There were lumber, lead, crude iron, hides, tobacco, cotton, naval stores, and furs.

THE WHARF AT GOLCONDA

Not only did the lower Mississippi connect Illinois directly with New Orleans and furnish us with a direct outlet to the old world trade, importations and exportations, but the upper Mississippi brought us the furs of the vast northwest, lead from Northwestern Illinois and Southwestern Wisconsin, and lumber from the pineries of the Northern forests.

The Ohio was in no sense less important than the Mississippi. It acted not only as a trunk-line of communication, but as an important feeder to the Mississippi. While the Mississippi was a great commercial waterway it was not important as a migratory route. Few immigrants ever came into Illinois by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi. The Ohio on the other hand brought Illinois a very large part of the immigration from east of the Alleghanies. Not only so, but there were large quantities of manufactured goods from the eastern states that found their

way into Illinois by way of Pittsburg and the Ohio River. Fine stock for breeding purposes, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and fowls from New York, Pennsylvania and other states, reached Illinois over the Ohio. Very little if any commerce from Illinois went up the Ohio, but there was a constant stream of travel both ways on that river.

Then there were the Illinois and the Wabash which were both navigable streams. There were no towns on the Illinois of any consequence prior to 1830 except Peoria. This was a French city till 1812 when it was partly destroyed by fire because it was supposed to be helping the British in the war. Americans settled and rebuilt the town in 1819. In 1824 the American Fur Company established a trading post at this point and from that time forward Peoria grew. The Illinois River became the line of travel and transportation between Peoria and points farther up the river as well as between Peoria and Alton, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

The Wabash had one good trading station on it, namely Vincennes. This was a very old trading point, and large quantities of goods of all kinds were distributed from here to the towns in Western Indiana and in Eastern Illinois.

There were several small streams that were valuable in a commercial way only. The Little Wabash, the Embarrass, the Cache, the Big Muddy, and the Kaskaskia were all adapted to the use of flat boats.

The Flat Boat

The flat boat was one of the unfailing signs of pioneer life. A man who had been engaged in the building and navigating of this form of rivercraft between the years of 1823 and 1835 describes the making of a flat boat as follows: The axmen felled trees whose bodies were three to six feet in diameter, and from fifty to seventy feet long. These were split from end to end and the two halves hewn to the thickness of six or eight inches, and three to six feet wide. These were placed side by side some twelve to sixteen feet apart, or even wider apart if desired. The front and rear ends were rounded down from the top like sled runners upside down. These were called by the boat builders the gun'ls (gunwales). They were held apart and in position by cross beams. A strong floor was placed on the top (which eventually will be the bottom) and the boat pushed into the water. Here several strong men overturned the boat, the water was dipped out and the bottom caulked. A false bottom was then laid. Frequently a sort of frame was laid upon the top of the gun'ls much as a hay frame is often placed on a wagon. This frame protected on each side some three to six feet, thus widening the platform which was to receive the cargo. There was thus a platform some sixty or seventy feet long and sixteen to

twenty-four feet wide, and was much like a flat car. Sides and ends were often arranged around this platform to prevent the loss of parts of the cargo. The hull of the boat was loaded with the heavier part of the cargo and the lighter articles were placed on the extended platform. A small hut was built on the deck in which the cook prepared the meals and in which was one or more bunks. From three to five men would take one of these boats, loaded with the produce of the neighborhood, from the place where it was built to New Orleans. Here, after the cargo was disposed of, the boat would be knocked to pieces and sold for lumber.

Timothy Flint, a traveler of wide experience, who wrote a very interesting and accurate description of the Mississippi Valley in 1830, says: "The instance of a young man of enterprise and standing, as a merchant, trader, planter, or even a farmer, who has not made at least one trip to New Orleans, is uncommon. From the upper and even the middle western states, before the invention of the steam boats, it was a voyage of long duration, and we may add, of more peril, than a voyage across the Atlantic. The Mississippi is still descended as before that invention, in boats of every description. Most of them now, however, are keel and flat boats. Every principal farmer along the great water courses, builds a flat boat and sends to New Orleans the produce of his farm in it." Mr. Flint estimates the trip to New Orleans by a young man of standing and situation in life to be of great value in enlarging his grasp of the manners and customs of the world. He states further that there was more or less danger from sandbars, snags, rocks, and other obstructions of safe navigation. The return trip in an old fashioned river steamer to St. Louis or Louisville required from twelve to fifteen days. "It must be admitted that while these frequent trips up and down the river, and more than all to New Orleans, give to the young people, and those who impart authority, impulse and tone to fashion and opinion, an air of society, ease and confidence; the young are apt at the same time to imbibe from the contagion of example, habits of extravagance, dissipation, and a rooted attachment to a wandering life."

Steamboats

The steamboats on the Ohio, and the Mississippi in these early days were indeed floating palaces. The passengers who traveled from Pittsburg, Cincinnati, or St. Louis, to New Orleans found all the accommodations one could find in the best city hotels. These were the days of slavery, and service was not only cheap but attentive. The meals which the best river steamers furnished were not equaled by any of the city hotels. A steamboat would care for several scores of passengers, beside it carried large amounts of freight.

The National Road

A large majority of the people who came to Illinois in the early days came by wagon or on horseback. The roads were indeed very poor and there were few places where travelers could find lodging over night, but as the country improved in others matters so with regard to travel. Taverns were built along the main traveled highways, and their prices were fixed by legislation. Fords, bridges, and roads were gradually improved and travel came to be more tolerable. There was much travel on horseback, and no small amount on foot.

CONCRETE BRIDGE OVER SALT CREEK, EAST OF EFFINGHAM ON LINE OF OLD NATIONAL ROAD

The National Government began a phase of "internal improvement" as early as 1806. On the 29th of March of that year, the President, Thomas Jefferson, signed a bill entitled "An Act to Regulate the Laying Out and Making a Road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio." Thirty thousand dollars was appropriated to survey and to make estimates of the cost of the road. It was the ultimate aim to extend this road into Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. The road was eventually extended to Vandalia, Illinois. It started at the town of Cumberland, Maryland, and passed through the following cities—Brownsville and Washington in Pennsylvania; Wheeling, now West Virginia; Janesville, Columbus, and Springfield, Ohio; Richmond, Indianapolis, and Terre Haute, Indiana; Marshall and Vandalia, Illinois. By 1819 the road was completed into Ohio. An act of 1820 ordered the road to be laid out and constructed

to a point on the left bank of the Mississippi between the mouth of Illinois River and the City of St. Louis. (The point evidently was Alton.) The total sum of $6,824,919.33 was appropriated for the building of this road.

It was over this road that thousands of people reached Illinois between 1818 and 1830. In 1837 John Quincy Adams visited Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and was welcomed by Dr. Hugh Campbell, one of the state's great orators. In the course of the address he said: "We stand, sir, upon the Cumberland Road, which has, to some extent broken down the great wall of the Appalachian Mountains, which served to form a natural barrier between what might have been two great rival nations." Later the Hon. James Veach in writing of the influence of the National Road in the development of the West said: "It is a monument of a past age; but like all other monuments, it is interesting, as well as venerable. It carried thousands of population and millions of wealth into the West; and more than any other material structure in the land, served to harmonize and strengthen, if not to save, the Union."

The common dirt roads were much improved by 1820, but they were nothing to brag on as means of travel. Laws had been passed authorizing the county authorities to open and improve the public roads, but much of the labor of opening roads and keeping them in repair was donated by the public spirited citizens, and since there was no well established permanent system of sustaining the roads when once opened, they were usually in poor repair.

The Frontier Life

By a careful study of the census reports for 1820 and 1830 we may get fairly definite notions of the density of population as well as the extent of the area of the state covered by settlements and the parts remaining unsettled. It of course is difficult to determine the density of population since the counties were in most cases much larger than they are today and we know the population was not uniformly distributed. All the travelers who wrote of what they observed as to the distribution, remarked the presence of population along the streams, as for example, along the Ohio, and the Wabash, on the east and southeast; along the Mississippi and the Illinois, in the West; and along the Kaskaskia, toward the Northeast. Maps that show the distribution of population represent that part of Illinois across the Wabash from Vincennes as being thickly populated. Also the territory about the salines on the Ohio, and the region along the Mississippi opposite St. Louis. These three facts can be easily accounted for. The territory opposite Vincennes was included in Knox County laid off by Governor St. Clair in 1790 with Vincennes as the county seat. Illinois was separated from

Indiana in 1809, so this territory, now included in Wabash, Lawrence, Edwards, and Crawford grew much more rapidly than the counties one tier further west. Gallatin County had the salines and Shawneetown to draw population. The immigration down the Ohio could not well debark till the travelers had passed the mouth of the Wabash, and Shawneetown was the first opportunity below te mouth of the Wabash. There was also a good ferry across the Ohio at Shawneetown from the beginning of the nineteenth century. All these things combined to increase the population in that region. The counties opposite St. Louis were from the earliest settlement of the territory, well populated. The region was attractive in many ways. The soil throughout St. Clair and Madison is very fertile. Cahokia, Belleville, Edwardsville, were thriving towns and there were several smaller villages which drew numbers of the new comers.

There was no general movement of population into the state from the north or northeast prior to 1830. There were straggling settlements along the Illinois, a few about Chicago, and probably several scores in the vicinity of the lead mines, near Galena. The fringe of permanent settlements ran east from the south side of Greene and Macoupin to Vandalia, thence it bent south toward Mount Vernon, thence northeasterly to Marshall, Clark County. Perhaps it would not be amiss to say that the unsettled parts of Washington, Jefferson, Marion, Clay, Effingham, Jasper and Cumberland may be accounted for by saying they are farther from large streams and their lands are probably not so productive as those east and west.

Education

Schools had no legal existence till 1825. There were at all times schools in some form. But these were of no indifferent character from the time the first Americans began to arrive. This was before the passage of the Ordinance of 1787. There were some provisions in that famous document which guarantees to the settlers in the territory north and west of the Ohio that education would not be neglected. The Ordinance declared that —"Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Then again the Ordinance of 1785 (which is sometimes called the Land Ordinance, an ordinance providing for the survey of the territory northwest of the Ohio River), there was a provision which said "there shall be reserved from sale the lot number 16 (Section number 16) of every township for the maintenance of common schools within the said township." These provisions of course were of no avail till Illinois became a state, and up to that time the schools of the Territory were very much on the same footing as the churches. If the people

of a neighborhood wanted a school they could have it just as they could have a church if they wanted it. If they wanted a good school they must find a good teacher, provide a good building and equipment. If the people of any community were indifferent about the value of schools, they would of course have an indifferent school or perhaps none at all. Thus the educational interests flourished or languished according to the ideals of the various communities in the Territory.

The Ordinance

When Illinois applied for admission into the union, and John Pope was given the task of writing up the Enabling Act, he incorporated the clause which we find in the Ordinance of 1785 as to the sixteenth section, and also a provision that three per cent of the proceeds of the sale of public lands in Illinois should be turned over to the state to be used to further the cause of education. In addition he confirmed that gift of one township, given in the Ordinance of 1785 for a higher institution of learning, and gave another township for the same purpose. This generosity on the part of the general Government would naturally beget an ambitious spirit among the people of the new state. The Constitution of 1818 has not a word about schools or education. The men who made it were probably too deeply interested in slavery—either for or against.

We have already called attention to the inaugural address of Governor Bond in which he said in discussing education, "It is our imperious duty, for the faithful performance of which we are amenable to God and to our country, to watch over this interesting subject."

The members of the General Assembly seems not to have done much toward performing their "imperious duty." But in response to the prayers of the good people of Belleville, Edwardsville, and Carlyle the General Assembly granted charters to three academies to be located in these three towns. "The preamble recites that several of the inhabitants have entered into arrangements among themselves to build by subscription academies for the education of their youth."

There were resolutions and acts of the General Assembly which applied to towns whose citizens were progressive enough to make requests for help from the General Assembly. But the first real earnest effort of the law makers to provide for a system of public free schools resulted in what is known as the Duncan Free School law of 1825.

School Law of 1825

Joseph Duncan, who resided in Jackson County in 1824, was elected to the State Senate in that year. He was an eastern

young man with an exceptionally good education. He introduced a law which provided a Public School System very much like the one we have today. There was a preamble, and twenty-four sections, a synopsis of which will give the reader a very good notion of the plan of this system.

Preamble. To enjoy our rights and liberties, we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people; and it is a well established fact that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened; and believing that the advancement of literature has always been, and ever will be, the means of developing the rights of man, that the mind of every citizen of a republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government, like ours, to extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole; therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc. This section authorizes a free school or schools in every county for pupils between five and twenty-one.

Section 2. The county commissioners shall establish these schools.

Section 3. The voters shall elect a board of three trustees (directors) who shall have control of the schools.

Section 4. The trustees shall select teacher, fix salary, take census and make report to the county commissioners.

Section 5. Each school district is made a body politic.

Section 6. Trustees may hold property in the name of district, prosecute and defend suits.

Section 7. There shall be a clerk in each district who shall keep a record of all transactions by trustees.

Section 8. There shall be a treasurer of each district.

Section 9. A collector shall collect all moneys and pay them over to the treasurer.

Section 10. The assessor shall list all property in district, making report to the trustees.

Section 11. Legal voters in a district must serve in any district office if elected or pay a fine.

Section 12. Legal voters may levy a tax of one-half of one per cent on property—provided no person shall pay more than $10 annually.

Section 13. Provides for presiding officer for meetings and gives plan of levying the taxes.

Section 14. Trustees shall issue a warrant to the collector to collect taxes.

Section 15. Appropriation of $2 out of every $100 paid into the state treasury is appropriated to the common schools. Also five-sixths of the interest on the permanent school fund. This

money to be pro-rated among counties according to the number of school children in each county.

Section 16. Auditor to draw funds from state treasury and pay over to county treasurer.

Section 17. County treasurer pays each district treasurer his proportionate share of the state taxes.

Section 18. The rents or income from the school lands shall be divided among tax payers in proportion to his school tax.

Section 19. Auditor and secretary of state made commissioners of school fund.

Section 20. Explains how the school fund on deposit in the state bank may be drawn and utilized by the commissioners.

Section 21. The county clerk shall make abstract reports of the business of the trustees in his county which shall be forwarded to the secretary of state.

Section 22. The legal voters may erect school houses, buy furniture, may require legal voters to furnish labor on buildings or in providing fuel.

Section 23. Persons holding school funds must give bonds.

Section 24. Teachers may be paid in merchantable produce instead of in cash.

It appears that this free school system was a new system except in some New England states. Ford says schools sprang up in all the counties. But it appears that none of the two per cent from the state treasury was ever paid to the county treasurer.

The valuable phases of the law were repealed in 1829. This has been explained by the statement that 95 per cent of the people of Illinois at that time had come from slave holding states where they had not been used to taxation to support schools, and they rebelled against the system which required taxes for support. The schools of Illinois languished from 1829 to 1855.

Population Centers

The population of Illinois in the summer of 1818 was 34,620. In the summer of 1820 it had grown to 55,162. In 1830, the census showed 157,445. This was indeed a rapid increase. It is difficult to locate this population by the census report for 1820 and 1830 for the counties have greatly changed and increased between 1820 and 1830. The census reports for the villages available in this period is unofficial. The Rev. John M. Peck gathered up statistics of the several towns and villages in the second decade after the admission of the Territory into the union. But these were obtained by estimating the number of inhabitants by counting the dwellings and multiplying by the average sized family.

In settling a new country some one must take the lead and he

may or may not select the best place for a population center. By population center we mean a sort of distributing point for the immigrants. Thus Kaskaskia, the first place in Illinois where white people settled permanently, was known all through the older states as well as in countries of the old world. Any one who wished to visit the Illinois country in the eighteenth century would first make his way to Kaskaskia and from that place journey to the part of the country he wished to investigate. Chicago served the same purpose for the northeastern part of Illinois. Persons from Pennsylvania, New York, and New England who wished to prospect or settle in the northern part of the state would first make their way by lake travel to the young village of Chicago and from there to the regions they wished to become acquainted with. Vincennes became a well known place to all people seeking a place to settle in the eastern part of the state. Cahokia, and St. Louis served as the distributing points for all the southwestern part of Illinois.

Near the beginning of the second decade of statehood the Rev. Timothy Flint traveled over Illinois and gave a very accurate description of the country and giving some notion of the location of the population centers. We shall give a few of these centers with reasons why they seemed to serve that purpose in the settling of Illinois. The period covered in estimating population is from 1825 to 1830.

Quincy was a town of some 300 people. People interested in selecting land in the Military tract would take upper Mississippi steamboat at St. Louis with Quincy for the destination.

Carlyle on the Kaskaskia was considered as a prospective capital city. The river was navigable for small vessels, and several roads centered at Carlyle. There were not more than 125 inhabitants. It was on the direct line of travel between Vincennes and St. Louis. A direct road also ran from Equality to Mt. Vernon, thence to Carlyle and to Greenville and Hillsboro. A road led from Kaskaskia to Waterloo, and thence to Belleville, Lebanon, and Carlyle.

Chicago was our only lake port and immigrants destined for the Danville district, Ottawa, or Galena would find direct roads from Chicago to these points. Chicago was a town of perhaps 1200 people in 1825.

Vandalia was the capital. It was on the Kaskaskia. It was on the direct travel between St. Louis and Terre Haute, and between Mount Carmel and Hillsboro. These roads were laid out shortly after the capital was located at Vandalia. Travelers would come to the capital and from here would investigate the surrounding country.

Shawneetown was born with the century. It was the place for debarkation for immigrants coming down the Ohio, destined for the southeast part of the state.

Carrollton was on the very fringe of the settlements as they moved east and north away from the lower Illinois River. The country was exceedingly rich and well watered and people flocked to this county seat in large numbers. It was on a direct road from St. Louis, Alton, Jerseyville, White Hall, and Jacksonville.

Mount Vernon was settled about 1817 or 1818, but it was a well known point on the north side of Casey's prairie much earlier than the date of actual settlement. The town was small, but well known to travelers and settlers.

Ottawa was situated on the Illinois where the Fox enters the former stream. As a point in travel it was known by the French and Indians long before the white settled there. It was settled by whites in 1825 and incorporated as a village in 1838. The town proper grew rather slowly at first, but it was a well known point. A direct road from Ottawa to Galena crossed Rock River at Dixon. Travel from Chicago to the lead mines came by way of Ottawa.

Edwardsville became well known in the War of 1812 from the fact that Fort Russell, the headquarters and base of operations for both state and national government for operations in Illinois, was situated within a mile or so from the village. By 1825 the village was probably a place of 200 people or more.

Jacksonville was the best known town in Central Illinois up to the time Springfield was selected as the capital in 1836. The town was laid out in 1825. It was about this time selected as the seat of Illinois College, one of the first institutions of higher learning to be permanently established in Illinois. It was surrounded by the richest farming land in the state. It was on a well established road from Indianapolis to Danville, and Quincy. The town grew very rapidly and the rich land for many miles around was soon all taken up.

Golconda was never a large place in the early days, but it was well known. A ferry was established as early as 1800, or before. Good roads led into the interior. One starting from Golconda passed through Frankfort, Nashville, Belleville, and to St. Louis.

The Belleville site was selected on March 10, 1814. The county seat had been at Cahokia since 1790, but this village was largely French and the Americans were anxious to be rid of the unprogressive ways of the early settlers, and so in 1813 they secured an order from the Territorial Legislature to move the county seat to a place to be selected by James Lemen, Dr. Caldwell Cairns, John Hays, Isaac Enochs, William Scott, Nathan Chambers, and Jacob Short—all Americans. They selected a beautiful spot of high ground on the farm of George Blair, thirteen miles southeast of St. Louis. One acre was given by Mr. Blair for a public square; he also gave every fifth lot out of the twenty-five acres surrounding the square for the purpose of erecting the public buildings. The town was platted early

in 1815. The place grew rapidly. By 1835 it had nearly a thousand population. It was a manufacturing town from the beginning. A very early map shows it on the road from Shawneetown through Equality, Frankfort (now West Frankfort), Nashville, Belleville, to St. Louis. Belleville became the center of a dozen communities before Illinois was admitted into the Union.

Springfield was settled first in 1819, made the county seat in 1820, and land office located there in 1823. Between 1823 and 1828 nearly a half million acres of land was sold from the Springfield land office. The land was exceedingly fertile and in most part well drained, though to the south the land is comparatively level. The town grew so rapidly and the country round about it was quickly settled. In fact Springfield became the center of the Sangamon country of which we shall speak later.

Palestine, a most interesting center in an early day was the only town in Crawford County, which was laid off by the Legislature in 1816. Crawford County included all of Illinois east of the third principal meridian and north of the parallel of Olney, Richland County. La Motte, a French trader, settled at the mouth of La Motte Creek at a very early date but left when the War of 1812 began. American settlers arrived in 1811, and in 1812 built a fort about where Palestine is which was called Fort La Motte. At the close of the war many settlers from the south came, and the village was laid out at the south end of La Motte Prairie. A land office was located here about 1820 or 1821. All the eastern side of Illinois north of Vincennes and south of Paris was settled, with Palestine as a center.

Albion, the county seat of Edwards County, was a well known center in the first decade of the state's history. There were settlers in Edwards County as early as 1809, and in 1812 and 1813 the Indians killed some of the settlers. But the real settlement began with the coming of Morris Birkbeck. In 1817 when he crossed the Wabash and reached the home of a Mr. Williams on the edge of Big Prairie, now in White County, July 26, 1817, he found 300 acres of corn growing, and the militia assembled to the number of thirty, twenty of whom carried rifles. But farther north he found only lonely hunters' cabins. He located his land-purchase of 1400 acres half way between the Big and the Little Wabash. Here he and his friend laid out two villages. Wanboro and New Albion. Mr. Birkbeck began Wanboro August, 1818, while Mr. Fowler began New Albion October of the same year. They were two miles apart. By 1819 there were 400 English men and 700 Americans on this immediate vicinity. It was called the English Prairie Settlement. It was also known as the Marine Settlement because many of the English settlers had been English seamen. The reason Albion was so well known as a center was the fact that so much was written and printed

about it. Birkbeck himself, George Flowers, William Cobbett, Thos. Hulme, John Woods, Bradshaw Fearon, William Faux, and many more wrote, between 1817 and 1825, letter sketches, books, and pamphlets which were printed in both England and America.

Trade and Commerce

Trade for the first decade was generally of the style of barter. Money was scarce after the close of the War of 1812, till the opening of the State bank in 1821. After 1821 there was plenty of money but it was of such uncertain value that it did not altogether displace the barter system. One essential element in a permanent and profitable trade system is a non-fluctuating unit of exchange. A bushel of wheat has a permanent value as a food. Likewise a pound of butter. A milk cow will exchange for so many sheep. True enough, but if the wheat crop is short people might be willing to give more pounds of bacon for a bushel of wheat, but the values do not change over night. The money that should have been the standard of value in the commercial world in Illinois was more uncertain than the weather. A man might accept $100 in payment of a debt and on the morrow attempt to pay a debt of $100 which he owed only to find that his $100 would pay only $90 of his debt.

The first installment of the pioneers made little use of any form of money. They lived from hunting, fishing, and trapping and the very few things they could not produce could easily be secured through barter. This early class of immigrants was mainly from the mountains of Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and as the country became more thickly settled, they moved toward the west where they found the economic problem more earily solved. There were many good industrious people among the early comers and not a few trifling ones in the second wave of immigrants.

But a goodly number of the people was industrious, plain farmers, small merchants, and unenterprising manufacturers. Villages were plentifully scattered along all the public roads, and in these villages there were always to be found what came to be called country stores. Peck in his Gazateer says, "C—— has five stores, three taverns, a grist and saw mill and forty families." That is one store to eight families in the village. Another writer says that "in 1819-21 there was hardly such a thing as money to be found. Many a family lived a whole year without the possession or the use of $50 in cash."

In such cases the family must exchange the simple products of the farm for the bare necessities from the stores. But in spite of all the facts that may be stated as to the lack of trade between the country people and the store keepers, there are other facts that should be stated. Robert W. Patterson, D.D.,

in an address before the Chicago Historical Society in 1880, tells of his personal recollections of the economic conditions in the earliest years of statehood as he lived in Southern Illinois as a young man. "The clothes of women, like those of the men, were almost entirely of home manufacture except in the older villages. Their bonnets were occasionally purchased from the stores, but more commonly they were of the simple Virginia style. From the villages, however, the use of imported materials for women's wear, gradually extended into the country and young ladies especially, before 1825, began to appear in calicoes or richer goods imported from the distant markets."

The whole problem of local trade or the more extended commercial transactions of shipping and importing, was almost wholly dependent upon roads and waterways as a means of transporting the produce of the country people and of bringing in the manufactured goods of distant places. Any people are intelligent, as well as cultured, in proportion to the degree that they exchange their own products for the products of other peoples. This trade or exchange with other peoples contributes not only to the physical welfare of a people, but minister as well to the intellectual and spiritual life. The wearing of silks, satins, broadcloths, and silk hats should not be condemned for these are the signs of the intercourse of a people with the outside world. In most cases where people from the old world came in groups and settled in neighborhoods, they were inclined to introduce the use of a better grade of goods and to indulge in some of the luxuries. The English settlers who located in Edwards County brought with them many evidences of a better social life than they found in the newly settled parts of Illinois. An English colony also settled in Monroe County in 1818. They, too, introduced some new types of dress and furniture, etc. The Germans who early came into St. Clair County were among those who showed that people could be hard workers, thrifty, and yet enjoy some of the better things of life.

The stores soon began to bring on such things as could not be produced on the farm and the people were eager purchasers. The coming of the Yankees also stimulated trade and indirectly assisted in the opening of roads and waterways. The steamboats were improving in their construction and increasing in number and they were continually coming closer to the interior. Trade was therefore improving.

From 1820 to 1830 a larger percent of the immigrants were skilled laborers, merchants and professional men than had come in the preceding decade. These lived some better than the farmers, and demanded of the store keepers a greater variety of goods in the stores and this increased the trade with New Orleans and the eastern cities.

The Sangamon Country

A study of the encroachment of population upon the interior of the state would reveal the movement up the Ohio and up the Mississippi. The immigration was from the east and southeast. Those who came from the east generally left the Ohio before they reached its mouth and proceeded inward from that stream or traveled up the Wabash. In this way the southeastern side of the state was peopled, the density decreasing gradually towards the interior usually at a right angle to the rivers. Those who came from the Southeast appeared to shift to the west side of the state and traveled up the Mississippi and the Illinois. This left an unoccupied tongue of land reaching south and west through the south end of the state. When the state was admitted into the union there was less than two people to the square mile in the counties of Jefferson, the east part of Washington, Marion, west part of Wayne, Clay, Effingham, Cumberland and west part of Jasper. The fact that this tongue of land was unsettled can be accounted for by showing that it is too far east to have the advantages of the streams that flow into the Kaskaskia and too far west to have the use of the streams that flow into the Wabash and the Ohio. In other words all the good drainage basins in the south end of the state were occupied in 1818. This left open for settlement the basin of the Sangamon River which flows into the Illinois River from the east.

The Sangamon and its branches drain wholly or in part the counties of Sangamon, Christian, Macon, Cass, Menard, Logan, Piatt, parts of Champaign, McLean, Tazewell and Mason. The basin of the Sangamon River is probably the richest area of its size in the state. Sangamon is Pottawattomi for "Good things to eat."

Ferdinand Ernest, a German traveler, who explored large areas of the interior of the United States in the years 1819 and 1820, wrote a book describing the Sangamon country, which was published in Hildersheim, in Hanover, in 1823. This book was immediately brought to the United States and extensively circulated. It was also generally read in the old world. This little volume helped to give prominence to the Sangamon country.

We shall trace briefly his trip into the Sangamon country. On July 23, 1819, Mr. Ernest reached Edwardsville. The Kickapoo Indians were encamped near the town ready to make a treaty with the United States, ceding their lands in Illinois. These probably were the first real Indians which Mr. Ernest had seen and he describes quite fully their appearance and gives some of their customs. In Edwardsville Mr. Ernest met his traveling companion, a Mr. Hallman and together they went four miles out of the town to see a country man by the name of Barensbach. From this man they secured information which they found very valuable to them.

From Edwardsville they proceeded to Vandalia, the new capital. He evidently found quite a few people here for he says they told him the lands in the Sangamon country were much finer than they were around Vandalia. He did not buy land but commenced the erection of a house. "We began to build a little log house here from logs, after the manner of the Americans—the logs are laid one upon another, the ends let down into the grooves. As soon as the building was far enough advanced so that my companion was able to finish it alone, I started upon a journey to view the wonderful land upon the Sangamon before I returned to Europe."

On the 27th of August, 1819, with a guide he went west from Vandalia about twenty miles, crossing Shoal Creek. He then turned northwest into what is now Macoupin County and struck the road from Kaskaskia through Waterloo, Belleville, Collinsville, Edwardsville, Bunker-Hill, Carlinville, Girard, and Springfield. He says as soon as he passed over the divide which separates the drainage into the Kaskaskia from the region draining the Sangamon, there was a marked change in the character of the soil.

Another writer of about the same date as Mr. Ernest's visit says: "The country here is beautiful—equal in native attractions, though not in classic recollections, to the scenes I visited and admired in Italy. The vale of Arms is not more beautiful than the valley of the Sangamon, with its lovely groves and murmuring brooks and flowing meads."

Mr. Ernest seems to have encircled Springfield (as there were only a few families there in August, 1819.) He visited the region of Elkhart Grove. He says this is a hill some two miles in circuit covered with heavy timber, the only timber in a circuit of several miles. A Mr. Latham lived on the hill and had raised thirty acres of fine corn in the level land to the east. He thought the Elkhart locality a very beautiful country. He speaks of two very fine springs on this elevation. Mr. Ernest says this farm of Mr. Latham was the farthest north of any farm in the central part of the state. He hoped to visit the site of the Kickapoo village just north across Salt Creek, but that stream was at flood and he did not venture to cross but returned to Vandalia in time for the sale of lots September 6, 1819.

Following the admission of Illinois into the Union migration into the counties of the Sangamon country increased greatly. The roads leading into this region were lined with movers going into that region. The population must have grown rapidly for when the vote was taken in the summer of 1824 on "for or against a convention" the friends of slavery polled 153 votes. The anti-slavery vote was 772. This is a total of 875 which indicates a population of 4,375.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE NEW STATE

CIVIL ORGANIZATIONS—LEGISLATURE AT WORK—BLACK CODE—MOVING THE CAPITAL—MONEY AND BANKS—PEOPLE IN 1818

The mere fact that the people of Illinois are soon to pass out from under a territorial form of government into that of a state will make little difference in their everyday life. The daily tasks of toil in shop, in field, in store or in the home are the same they have been for many years preceding. In fact the daily life of any people is slightly affected by legislation. The farmer, the mechanic, the common laborer, and even the professional man, finds the daily round of life much the same from day to day regardless of the orderly changes in forms of government. The housewife finds her tasks no more easily performed, nor more slavish, because the form of government has changed. The religious life will continue in the same lines after as before the governmental change. Likewise the social changes, if any come, will come very slowly. The experiences of three wars show that the great forces of revolution and war are slow in reaching many of the phases of the life of a people. The winter that the British troops occupied Philadelphia, 1777-78, the people of that city led a gay life, and the farmers within a radius of twenty miles of that city continued to market their produce in Philadelphia as usual. It has been said that life was as gay in Paris during the World war, in many ways, as at other times. In the time of the Civil war, when the Government was passing through the most trying days, there were many homes and even neighborhoods that knew nothing of the war except what they may have chanced to see in a stray paper or learned from their better informed neighbors. However, these simple folk who lived in the remoter parts from the centers of population discovered in a very real way that the regular ongoing of life had been disturbed when they wished to buy domestics, coffee, tea and other necessities of life at the village store.

But we must be careful not to overemphasize the lesson. There will be changes which will come to those who live through political evolutions as well as through political revolutions. We shall understand the matter better if we remember that political changes are brought about by the very active work of a small number of professional politicians, and such changes as may

come to a people by reason of changes in government come rather gradually.

Civil Organization

It will be recalled that the Constitution was made in the month of August, 1818. Congress would not regularly meet till the first Monday in December, but a called session met on Monday, November 16, 1818, and on the first day, following the appointment of a committee to act in conjunction with a like committee from the Senate to notify the President that the two houses were ready to received any communication he might wish to lay before them, the speaker, Mr. Clay, laid the Constitution of Illinois before the House. But it was known that considerable time would be required to secure the adoption of the Constitution by the two houses of Congress. The politicians were therefore loath to wait till Congress had accepted the Constitution. So the framers of the Constitution provided in the Schedule, section 9, that "The president of the convention shall issue writs of election directed to the several sheriffs of the several counties * * * requiring them to cause an election to be held for governor, lieutenant governor, representative to the present Congress of the United States, and members of the General Assembly, and sheriffs and coroners in the respective counties; such election to commence on the third Thursday of September next, and to continue for that and two succeeding days, etc."

Accordingly, on the 3d of September, and on the two following days, an election was held, at which time the officers enumerated above were elected. As has been pointed out before, this election was held months before the Constitution was accepted by Congress, and, strictly speaking, was unconstitutional.

Article 2 of the Constitution, section 24, provided that "The first session of the General Assembly shall commence on the first Monday of October next (1818), and forever after the General Assembly shall meet on the first Monday in December next ensuing the election of the members thereof, and at no other period, unless as provided by this Constitution."

Accordingly, the Legislature met on the day provided, when the governor and other elected state officers took the oath of office as provided in article 2, section 26. The General Assembly then proceeded to the business before it, which will be discussed in the next topic. It will be recalled that the Constitution provided for the election by the people of only a limited number of the public officers. To show this a scheme is presented below giving the name of the office, the person who filled it, and the method of his selection.

Governor, Shadrach Bond, elected by the people.

Lieutenant governor, Pierre Menard, elected by the people.

Secretary of state, Elias Kent Kane, appointed by the governor.

Auditor of public accounts, Elijah C. Berry, elected by General Assembly.

Attorney general, Daniel P. Cook, elected by General Assembly.

State treasurer, John Thomas, elected by General Assembly.

Supreme Court, Joseph Phillips, Thomas C. Browne, William P. Foster, John Reynolds, elected by General Assembly.

U. S. senators, Ninian Edwards, Jesse B. Thomas, elected by General Assembly.

Member of Congress, John McLean, elected by the people.

State printers, Blackwell & Berry, elected by General Assembly.

State senators, fourteen members, elected by the people.

House of Representatives, twenty-eight members, elected by the people.

Sheriffs, one for each county, elected by the people.

Coroners, one for each county, elected by the people.

It will be noticed that out of fourteen positions, the people elected seven, and seven of them were chosen by the governor or the General Assembly. By our present Constitution, the people elect twelve of the thirteen positions. The public printer is the only appointive position out of the thirteen enumerated above.

Legislature at Work

Section 24 of article 2 provided that the new government should begin its work on Monday, the 5th of October, 1818. Accordingly, there appeared in Kaskaskia on that day those citizens who had been selected at the election in September for the elective offices according to the Constitution. They were sworn in and the new venture was launched. The governor delivered to the General Assembly his inaugural message, which contained some good advice as to the curbing of party spirit. The General Assembly was a body of rather new men, many of the men familiar with the government under the territorial period were not selected for public office even when they offered themselves as candidates. It is said there were eleven men out of the twenty-eight in the Lower House who had not held public office. On the whole, it would seem that the Legislature was made up largely of men with little or no experience which would tend to fit them for the important work to be done. Nathaniel Pope, who had done so much for Illinois, offered himself as a candidate for the lower branch of the Legislature, but was defeated. He was soon appointed a district judge by President Monroe, which position he held for many years.

The first day of the session was taken up in organizing the two houses and in canvassing the returns of the elections. On

the second day they participated in the inaugural ceremonies, and on the third day the joint session of the General Assembly proceeded to the election of the two United States senators. On the fourth day of the session the joint session of the two houses proceeded to the election of the four members of the Supreme Court. Their names appear on a preceding page. On the fifth day the joint session selected the men to fill the positions of attorney-general, auditor, treasurer, and public printers.

The preliminaries were now over and the General Assembly was ready to begin the work of law making. As has been stated on a preceding page, there now arose doubts as to the legality of any measures which this body might enact into law. The Constitution, which had been made in August, and which had been presented to the Lower House of the National Congress for its acceptance, had not yet been ratified by that honorable body. The Legislature was eager to begin the task set before it by the governor's message. But just as the young statesmen were ready to test their powers in the new field, the Senate threw cold water on the whole affair by passing a resolution authorizing a joint committee to consider the advisability of adjourning the session till such time as might be agreed upon, giving ample time for the ratification of the Constitution by the Congress. "Be it therefore, and it is further resolved, that the governor of the state be, and he is hereby requested, as soon as he shall ascertain that this state has been so admitted into the Union, to issue his proclamation for calling a special meeting of the General Assembly of the state, at a convenient time thereafter." Efforts were made to modify the resolution, but after considerable discussion, the two houses passed the resolution and adjourned on Tuesday, October 13, 1815.

The legal status of all that was done by this so-called Legislature was never determined. It was by common consent accepted as proper and legitimate. But the mere fact that the Legislature refused to enact any bills into law shows that there were grave doubts in the minds of the members as to the legality of any work which the so-called Legislature did. However, there was one measure of interest which should be noticed. Before the Legislature adjourned it complied with the thirteenth section of the Schedule, which provided that:

"The General Assembly, at their first session holden under the authority of this Constitution, shall petition the Congress of the United States to grant to this state a quantity of land, to consist of not more than four, nor less than one section, or to give this state the right of preemption in the purchase of said quantity of land. The said land to be situate on the Kaskaskia River, and as near as may be, east of the third principal meridian on said river." The same section, 13, provides that if the Congress complies with the request of the Legislature for the

grant, that the Legislature at its next session shall appoint five commissioners who shall be authorized to locate the said grant, lay off the town which shall become the capital, and proceed to build a suitable building as the state capitol.

The petition was duly received by Congress. It was presented to the House of Representatives, December 7th, three days after Illinois had been formally admitted into the Union. Within a few days a vigorous counter petition was received by Congress signed by more than fifty citizens of Illinois protesting against the location of the capital so far north. This protest made it appear that the convention which framed the Constitution was not a representative body, as the six delegates from St. Clair and Madison represented more people than the fourteen delegates from seven other counties. The protest also showed that the provision in the Constitution was passed with sixteen votes against fifteen in the negative, out of thirty-three, the number elected to the convention. There were other complaints. One that such things as moving the capital of a state should be left to the legal voters. The petition was not acted on till February 25, when Senator Thomas introduced a bill making the grant as requested. The bill passed both branches of Congress and was signed by the President on the 3d of March, 1819. When the Legislature reassembled in Kaskaskia on January 4, 1819, nothing had been heard of the petition for the grant of the four sections, and efforts were made to locate the capital at Carlyle, but the measure was defeated.

When the governor was inducted into office on October 6, 1818, he had delivered a vigorous yet modest inaugural message. He first plead for an abatement of party spirit or rather factional spirit. He hoped that whatever motives may have produced divisions, factions, and unjust resentment, that all might now realize the need of united efforts toward the securing of prosperous and profitable launching of the new government.

He pointed out five broad lines of legislation which he felt should receive the careful consideration of the people's chosen representatives.

First, he called attention to the need of providing funds for the necessities of the new government. The treasurer's books showed that the income to the territory from December 2, 1817, to October 1, 1818, was $3,979.72; while the expenditures for the same period had been $4,039.25. The treasurer estimated the income to December 1, 1818, as $8,771.20; and the outstanding warrants $7,588. This would leave a balance of $183.20 cash in the treasury, which after paying the debt of $59.53 would leave for the new state a working balance of $123.67.

Second, he pointed out the need of the revision of the laws. Especially was he concerned about the harsh laws which provided for the punishment of offenses and crimes.

Third, he called the attention of the Legislature to the need of fostering public education. "It is our imperious duty, for the faithful performance of which we are amenable to God and our country, to watch over this interesting subject."

Fourth, the governor was aware of the fact that the Salt Works which the general government had been operating near the town of Equality had not been profitably managed. There were large quantities of salt manufactured, but the general government had not profited much from this enterprise. By the terms of the enabling act these and all other salt wells and springs in Illinois had been turned over to the State of Illinois. The state was to have charge of these interests, but could not sell the lands or rent or lease the salines for a longer period than ten years. The governor thought that these salines if properly managed would greatly reinforce the weakened state of the finances.

And lastly, the governor called the attention of the Legislature to the advisability of taking steps toward the construction of a canal from the headwaters of the Illinois River to the shore of Lake Michigan.

The Legislature now, January 6, 1819, took up the work of law making in earnest. The territorial governor, Ninian Edwards, had turned over the control of affairs to the new governor, and all the territorial officials had relinquished their offices and the whole problem of civil administration was in a chaotic condition, and had been since the preceding October. The laws in force in Illinois at the meeting of the Legislature on January 4, 1819, were the old territorial laws. Many of these had been in use since the organization of the Northwest Territory in 1788. Some had been copied from the statutes of the older states while Illinois was a part of the Indiana Territory, and some had been adapted from the laws of other states while Illinois was a territory of the first and second class.

The governor had pleaded for a modification of the penalties laid against misdemeanors and crimes. There were no jails and no penitentiary. If offenders were to be detained, they were confined in private houses, stores, halls or other secure place. The form of punishment was usually whipping, fining, or languishing in the stocks or pillory. Death by hanging was the penalty upon conviction of treason, murder, arson, and for repeated convictions for horse stealing. Burglary and robbery were punishable by whipping, fines, and imprisonment. In case of imprisonment for crimes, the convicted would need to be sent to a state or territory where a penitentiary was maintained. Other offenses against the law and order were punishable by whipping, fines, and confinement. Disfranchisement and the pillory were some times assessed as the penalty for offenses. A man who had been fined and was unable to pay his fine was

sometimes bound out for a certain period. Some of the offenses were treason, murder, rape, arson, horse stealing, manslaughter, larceny, forgery, assault, hog stealing, gambling, swearing, Sabbath breaking, bigamy, disobedience.

The Legislature did not agree with the governor that the penalties were severe and barbarous. The fact is, as has been stated, that these laws which were in force in territorial days were all taken from the laws of other states, and in those days public opinion was not subject to the weaknesses and sentimentality of the present day. The laws were not recast, but on the contrary, the enacting clause of each law was changed to conform to the requirements of the State Constitution, which read: "Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly."

One task which fell to this first session of the Legislature was the fixing of the salaries of the state officials. Some effort was made in the constitutional convention to fix salaries, at least to fix maximum salaries. Section 18 of article 2 says: "The General Assembly of this state shall not allow the following officers of government greater or smaller annual salaries than as follows, until the year 1824: The governor, $1,000; and the secretary of state, $600." When the Legislature reached the matter of salaries they established the following amounts: Governor and the four Supreme judges, $1,000 each; auditor, $700; secretary of state, $600; treasurer, $500; attorney general, $250; circuit attorneys, $150; adjutant general, $150. A per diem was allowed as follows: Lieutenant governor, $5 per day for actual service; speaker of the Lower House, $5 per day actual service; members of the General Assembly, $4 per day actual service; the delegates who framed the Constitution, $4 per day actual service.

Another matter which demanded the attention of the lawmakers was the establishment of some system of providing permanent revenues for the support of the state government. Odd as it may seem there were people who were opposed to the application of the territory to pass from the first to the second class, and there were those who objected to the assumption of statehood and their arguments were the increased financial obligations of a second class over a first class territory. In like manner they pointed out that whereas as a territory of the second class the United States bore a large share of the financial burden, now that the people were about to take on statehood, they must carry the whole load.

Taxation is an age-old method of providing government with necessary funds for the support of the various branches of civil administration. And likewise the objects upon which taxes have always been laid may be named as real estate—land—personal property, and persons. The scheme of taxation was sim-

ple, if not altogther just. All the annual expense of the state government, some $20,000 to $25,000 was to be raised by taxes collected on the land owned by nonresidents or bank stock, and two-thirds of the tax on residents' land. The fourth clause of section six of the Enabling Act provides "that all the lands (within the proposed state) belonging to the citizens of the United States, residing without the said state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein."

Following the War of 1812, the Congress set aside a body of land lying between the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers in which soldiers of the war could locate bounty lands. Few old soldiers came to the Bounty Tract. They disposed of their land warrants and eventually large areas of the land in the Bounty Tract was held by speculators who in the main were nonresidents.

An odd provision was made as to taxing lands, as follows: All lands were regarded as belonging in one of three classes. Those of least value were said to be worth $2.00 per acre; those of the next grade were supposed to be worth $3.00 per acre; those of greatest value were rated at $4.00 per acre. Each nonresident landowner determined in what class he wished to place his land for taxation. Under oath, he listed his land directly with the auditor for taxes, it required three times the tax amount to redeem them.

There was the rentals from the salines near Equality to be listed with the incomes to the state. The county expenses were to be met by a tax on slaves and servants and ½ per cent on personal property and a tax on residents' lands. In some cases the county tax was not sufficient to meet the legitimate needs of the county and in a few cases subsidies were granted from the public treasury to counties whose income was not equal to the necessary expenditures.

The following balance sheet is from Moses' History of Illinois, and gives a very good idea of the simplicity of the financial transactions in those early days:

Receipts Oct. 18, 1818, to Dec. 31, 1820		$53,362.22
Expenditures for same period		35,655.00
Receipts Dec. 31, 1820, to Dec. 31, 1822:		
Cash on hand	$17,707.22	
From Sheriffs	7,268.23	
Taxes from Non-Residents	38,437.75	
Tax on Non-Residents' bank stock	97.77	
From salines	10,763.09	
Sale of Vandalia lots	5,659.86	
		$79,933.92
Expenditures for same period:		
Legislative department	$14,966.18	
Executive department	6,940.06	

Judicial department	7,932.33	
Prosecuting attorneys	1,531.08	
Contingents—printing, etc.	3,976.36	
Ohio Saline	1,800.00	
Repairs, etc., on state-house	1,101.57	
Militia	784.00	
Postage, etc.	234.10	
Boundary line expense	784.00	
State bank	2,000.00	
Pike County	1,500.00	
		$47,145.25
Balance on hand		32,788.67

The governor's suggestion as to the need and value of education seems not to have stirred the legislators to action along that line. Nothing was done in the matter of providing a system of education, but some interest seems to have been taken as to the care of the sixteenth section in each township, but even this legislation has the appearance of personal and private profit coming from the location of the section. The timber on the school section was to be used by any of the citizens of the township, some charters were granted for the establishing of academies. One at Edwardsville, one at Belleville, and one at Carlyle. These will be considered later.

The suggestion as to the desirability of the construction of a canal from Lake Michigan to the head waters of the Illinois River was unfruitful so far as immediate work was concerned. John Reynolds who was a member of the Supreme Court, drew a bill providing for an examination of the route over which it would be feasible to construct a canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. Since Mr. Reynolds had had some experience in the construction of public utilities, it was thought his judgment as to cost, etc., would be safe. He must have made an estimate of cost, at least the Legislature thought that the venture would be too expensive, the bill failed to pass.

The Black Code

Before the Legislature adjourned, it enacted into law a very strict black code. This may be said, that the only use the majority of the members of the Legislature had for a black man was as a slave or an indentured servant. There were negroes and mulattoes. Both came under the black code. Some were in perpetual slavery, some were held under the indenture system, and some were free. The laws of the Indiana Territory were very harsh as to negroes, mulattoes, and servants. These laws were carried bodily over into and became the laws of Illinois Territory in 1809 when the separation occurred. The laws

of the black code were, many of them, almost word for word as they were under the territorial regime. The black code has twenty-five sections and covers nearly all relations between the colored people and their relation to the white people. It will be sufficient to give the essential features of each section.

An Act respecting free Negroes, Mulattoes, Servants, and Slaves.

Approved March 30, 1819.

Be it enacted, etc.

Section 1. No free black or mulatto shall reside in Illinois unless he shall file with the clerk of the Circuit Court a certificate of his freedom.

Section 2. Free negroes and mulattoes bringing families into this state must present certificate of freedom as under section 1; but the overseers of the poor might remove such families from the state if they should be adjudged paupers.

Section 3. It was declared unlawful for any person to bring a slave into Illinois for the purpose of setting said slave free. However, a person might bring in a slave and set him free by giving bond in $1,000 for his good behavior and that said freed man shall not become a charge upon any county. The penalty for violation of this section was $200 for each offense.

Section 4. Each free negro or mulatto, residing in this state at the adoption of this law shall register with the circuit clerk the evidence of his freedom. Compliance with this section does not vitiate any legal claim which any white man might have on said negro or mulatto.

Section 5. It shall be unlawful for any person to hire any negro or mulatto unless said person has a registered certificate of his freedom. The penalty was a fine of $2.50 for each day said negro or mulatto shall work for said employer.

Section 6. It was illegal for any one to harbor or secrete any negro or mulatto, the same being a slave to his knowledge. The penalty was the same as that for receiving stolen goods knowingly.

Section 7. Any negro or mulatto found in the state without a certificate of his freedom, shall be held to be a runaway slave, and shall be held by the sheriff as such, and if not claimed certain time, may be sold for one year to the highest bidder.

Section 8. If after a negro or mulatto has been sold he shall obtain a certificate of his freedom, he shall receive the hire for his labor after the necessary expenses have been paid. And if any one shall fraudulently claim any such negro or mulatto, he shall be deemed guilty of perjury and be punished accordingly.

Section 9. Any person who shall fraudulently transport any negro or mulatto out of the state shall be fined $1,000.

Section 10. Servants shall be provided by their masters with

sufficient and proper food, clothing, and lodging, and shall, when the period of service has expired, be provided with certain designated clothing, etc.

Section 11. Contracts for service are declared transferrable with the consent of the servant in the presence of any justice of the peace.

Section 12. Any servant being lazy, disorderly, or guilty of misbehavior shall be punished by stripes upon the order of a justice of the peace. Or if refusing to work he may be compelled to serve double time. The expense of returning to the master any absconding servant shall be borne by the said servant.

Section 13. Masters are to be held liable for any injuries inflicted illegally upon servants. The case to be heard by any circuit judge.

Section 14. All contracts between master and servant (entered into) during the time of service are void.

Section 15. The circuit courts may hear complaints of servants who reside in the court's jurisdiction. The court may apply such remedies as the judge deems fair and proper.

Section 16. Servants legally and properly coming into possession of anything of value shall enjoy the possession of the same. And masters must not discharge sick or unprofitable servants to become a charge upon the county.

Section 17. No Indian, negro, or mulatto shall hold a servant of any other color than his own. And if white persons are bound as servants to such persons said white servant shall be set free.

Section 18. No person shall have any pecuniary transaction with any servant or slave and persons offending are fined four times as much as the value of the thing sold or traded.

Section 19. In all violations of the law punishable by fines, the same offense committed by servants shall be punishable by not more than forty lashes.

Section 20. Each servant who fulfills the terms of his service shall be given a certificate of freedom by the circuit court.

Section 21. Any slave or servant found more than ten miles from his master's home without authority from the master, may be arrested and punished by whipping.

Section 22. Slaves and servants found upon any one's premises without the order of their masters were subject to punishment by whipping.

Section 23. Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses, and seditious speeches, by slaves or servants may be adjudged unlawful and said slaves or servants may be whipped by order of the justice of the peace.

Section 24. Persons permitting more than three slaves or servants to assemble on their premises for dancing or revelling or other disorder may be fined twenty dollars and cost.

Section 25. All officials who shall be cognizant of any form of disorderly conduct enumerated in the previous section, shall arrest such offenders and commit them to the county jail, and may cause the said offenders to be punished by whipping. Provided, however, that persons of color might with the written permission of their masters assemble for amusement on condition that no disorderly conduct is indulged in.

Moving the Capital

We have already called attention to the fact that the constitution provided that the legislature at its first session should ask Congress for a donation or grant of four acres upon which

THE OLD STATE CAPITOL AT VANDALIA

a new capital city might be located. This the Legislature did. The Congress on the 3d of March, 1819, passed an act giving Illinois four acres to be located by commissions appointed by the Legislature.

The Legislature selected five commissioners to locate the donation of land, and erect a suitable building for the use of the various departments of government. The terms provided that the capital should be situated on the Kaskaskia and east of the 3d principal meridian. The place selected was several miles north of any settlements located in the central southern part of the state. The place where the town was to be located was called "Reeve's Bluff." It was on the west side of the Kaskaskia River, and is said to have been in the midst of virgin forests. "The plan of the town is a square, subdivided in to sixty four

squares, and a space of two of these squares in the middle is intended for public use. Every square, having eight building lots, contains 320 square rods. Each building lot is 80 feet wide and 152 feet deep. Each square is cut from south to north by a sixteen foot alley; and the large regular and straight streets, eighty feet wide, intersect each other at right angles." Lots were sold at public auction. Mr. Ferdinand Ernest, a German, who was traveling in Illinois late in the year 1819, was the first man to begin a house in the new city. In his diary dated September 10, 1819, he says: "Only four weeks ago the commissioners advertised the sale of lots (it will take place tomorrow) and there is already considerable activity manifested. Charles Reavis and I were the first who began to build." From this it will be seen that the people began to build before the sale of lots was held. Mr. Ernest further says: "When the lots in Vandalia were sold, I purchased four of them and after I had made the necessary arrangements for the completion of my house, I set about preparing for my return to Europe." Lots sold all the way from $100 to $780.

The commissioners who located the new capital were also authorized to erect a building in which the new government might be housed. The building was a two story frame structure. This burned in 1823, and another building was erected at a cost of $15,000. This building was replaced in 1836 by the building which is now occupied by the Fayette County Courthouse. When the transfer of the seat of government was made in 1820, December, the archives which were in the custody of Elias Kent Kane as secretary of state, were turned over to a young law student by the name of Sidney Breese for transfer. Mr. Breese successfully transported the books and records to the new seat of government in a farm wagon. The road for the wagon had to be opened up a portion of the way, but Mr. Breese delivered his cargo and received for his services the sum of twenty-five dollars. "Reeves Bluff" was an ideal place for a city. It lies immediately west of the Kaskaskia and not more than a few rods from that stream. The place occupied by the old capitol building is high and the land slopes away in all directions.

It is said that the commissioners were at a loss to know what to call the new town. Several names were suggested, when a wag standing near said that there once lived on the Kaskaskia in the region of the new city a powerful tribe of red men known as the Vandals. The race was gone but their memory should be perpetuated by giving their name to the new capital. He therefore suggested that the new town be called "Vandalia." The commissioners were delighted with the suggestion, and they unanimously adopted the name Vandalia for the new capital.

The second session of the Legislature met in the new capital the first Monday in December, 1820. The state had made rapid

strides in the two years since admission into the Union. The census as taken by the Federal government in 1820 showed a population of 55,120. Four new counties had been organized—Alexander, Clark, Jefferson, and Wayne making now nineteen counties in the state.

The governor called the attention of the Legislature to some needed legislation. First, he wished to give attention to the improvement of the capital city. He suggested the erection of substantial public buildings, among which should be a "seminary of learning." He argued that there ought to be an institution of learning at the state's capital, "because by an occasional visit at the houses of the general assembly, and the courts of justice, the student will find the best specimens of oratory the state can produce; imbibe the principles of legal science, and political knowledge, and by an intercourse with good society his habits of life would be chastened, and his manners improved." He showed that the territorial debt had been paid and that the state's finances were in a healthy condition. His message closed with a prayer: "May the Almighty God, to whose kind providence we are indebted for the safe and tranquil condition of our common country, and the plentiful harvest of the year, teach us to distrust ourselves, and to rely firmly upon Him, that we may live to His glory, and die in His love."

Money and Banks

Illinois began her political life in the midst of great national prosperity. The close of the War of 1812 brought about a new era in the life of the American people. The sea was once more free to American shipping; trade relations with the nations of the earth greatly multiplied; the Indians, who in all the past had been more or less an ever-present danger, are hence-forth to be considered as no longer an obstacle to the westward movement of the pioneer line; politics the great disturber in state and national life was at its lowest ebb; the financial world was never more healthy; and the people everywhere were taking on new life and undertaking more difficult problems. The United States Bank which Alexander Hamilton had championed in 1791 had run a successful course of twenty years. Its charter expired in 1811 and its renewal was defeated by the vote of Henry Clay as speaker of the House of Representatives. The War of 1812-15 was fought on state bank money, treasury certificates, and a slight amount of gold and silver. By 1816 the country was ready to welcome a bank whose bills were exchangeable for gold and silver. Early in the spring of this year, 1816, the Congress passed a bill which created a bank to be known as a United States bank. Its capital was $35,000,000 of which the government was to furnish one-fifth. This bank was to be a bank of issue and its bills were seldom if ever below par.

Between 1811, when the charter of the first bank expired, and 1816, when the second United States bank was authorized, there were hundreds of banks chartered by the legislatures of the several states. These were also banks of issue and the country was flooded with paper money, the issue of these state banks. In most cases the bank's capital was merely on paper and most of the banks were unable to redeem their issue. In 1816 when the second United States bank opened its doors for business and began to pay out the bright crisp bills, the state bank bills went into hiding. This condition obtained only where the United States Bank and its branches were located. There were none of its branches in the new west and the state bank bills had no competition in this part of the country. However some of the money issued by the United States bank found its way into the states west of the Alleghany Mountains.

BANK OF CAIRO BILL

By 1818-1820 there were three general kinds of money:

Gold and silver coin which was very scarce as there were no mines of these metals yet in operation in this country and the only material the mints had to work on was the gold and silver articles which had been brought to this country from the old world or South America. There was, however, in circulation quite a bit of gold and silver coins, the issue of Spain and France and England.

Then there was a limited amount of the issue of the United States bank. This was brought over by the settlers who came from the states east of the Alleghany Mountains.

Lastly, there was the issue of the state banks or of private banks which sometimes issued paper bills. The state bank bills were often from the banks of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Missouri. Many of these bank bills were exchangeable for gold and silver as the bank which issued them stood ready at all times to redeem their issue. Estimated in face value, the money issued by the state banks were greatly in excess of all other

kinds, perhaps there was about the same amount in United States bank bills and in gold and silver.

We are particularly interested in the effort of Illinois to hold her own with the adjoining states in the matter of providing her citizens with a circulating medium. As early at 1816 the Territorial Legislature issued charters to banks, or rather passed a law permitting banks to be organized in Edwardsville, Kaskaskia, and Shawneetown. This law provided that one-tenth of the capital stock should be paid in. This would produce a small redemption fund, but not nearly enough to redeem a small part of the issue. The banks at Edwardsville and at Shawneetown

THE CAIRO BANK AT KASKASKIA
The wooden building is the bank and the brick building is the land office

were doing business when Illinois was admitted into the Union. It has been said of the Shawneetown bank that it always was ready to redeem its issue but not so the bank at Edwardsville.

Land offices were established at Kaskaskia, and Vincennes in 1804. One was located in Shawneetown in 1812, and one in Edwardsville in 1816. The public lands were placed on sale at Shawneetown and Kaskaskia in 1814. But the money received for the sale of the government land had to be deposited in the Bank of Missouri, and it is said that at one time the Bank of Missouri held as much as $600,000 of government money. The

secretary of the treasury, Mr. William H. Crawford, made the banks at Edwardsville and at Shawneetown banks of deposit for the money received from the sale of public lands. It often happened that much of the money received by the receiver at the land office and deposited in the bank designated by the government would turn out to be worthless. The Edwardsville bank did not succeed in satisfying the government nearly so well as the bank at Shawneetown. The bank at Edwardsville failed in 1821 and the government lost more than fifty thousand dollars of land office money or other money belonging to the government. The Shawneetown bank, otherwise known as the Bank of Illinois, had been able to redeem its issue when called on, and made regular payments to the government of the land office money or of other money which the bank may have had on deposit belonging to the government.

It seemed that the year 1820 was hard on banks. Those with insecure foundations were unable to withstand the storm and there were many failures. The suspension of specie payment is always the sign of weakening, and when the Illinois banks suspended in 1820 it was taken as the sign that they would be obliged to surrender their charters. The Illinois bank at Shawneetown was able to weather the gale and was considered one of the best financial institutions in the west.

"By 1820, the banks of neighboring states were broken, and those of Illinois suspended; specie had fled the country and immigrants came as moneyless as were those who looked forward to their well filled purses; paper towns failed to grow into flourishing villages; trade flagged; there was no commerce to bring money into the country; real estate was unsalable while contracts wildly entered into; matured. As the folly of the people became apparent, ruin stared them in the face. Enormous sacrifices of prosperity under prospective executions must ensue, unless some scheme for relief could be devised. In August, 1820, a new legislature would be elected. The genius of this body (when it convened) would be invoked on behalf of the embarrassed people. At its session in 1820-21, it willingly addressed itself to this work (of the relief of the people), and evolved the 'Illinois State Bank' with a capital of half a million of dollars, based entirely upon the credit of the state."

The second general assembly met in Vandalia in the new capitol building. It felt like erasing the past and beginning anew. The real desire of the lawmakers was to find relief for the people. The people could forget the past if only there were better times ahead of them. And so the Legislature struck upon a scheme of bringing prosperity to the people.

A bill was brought in which created the Illinois State Bank with a capital stock of $500,000. There was no capital as we use that word. The capital stock was not to be sold. No one

owned a dollars worth of stock in this bank. Certain individuals were authorized to pilot this bank through the financial breakers and rapids of the next ten years. There was to be a sort of mother bank which was to be located at Vandalia and there were four branch banks situated at Edwardsville, Madison County; Brownsville, Jackson County; Shawneetown, Gallatin County, and at the county seat of Edwards County when the seat of justice should be permanently located. The management of the bank was placed in the hands of a board of directors to be chosen by the Legislature, one member from each county. There were twenty-six counties in the state by the end of February, 1821, seven counties having been created in the months of January and February, 1821. There would thus be twenty-six members of the board of directors of the Illinois State Bank. Directors and officers were to be elected by the joint action of the Legislature.

As stated, there was no capital as we think of capital. The bill provided that the bank could issue $500,000 in paper money and the state and all its resources were pledged to the redemption of this issue. The bills were to be issued in one, two, three, five, ten, and twenty-dollar amounts. Those bills drew interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, and when issued from the bank, the name of the one to whom the bills were issued was indorsed on the face of the bill and also the date of the issue. It is a queer notion that a bank should pay interest to the one who borrows money from it.

No more than one hundred dollars could be loaned to any person on personal security. Amounts more than one hundred dollars must be secured by real estate, and in no case should more than $1,000 be loaned to one person.

The notes of the Illinois State Bank "were made receivable in payment of all state and county taxes, costs and fees, and the salaries of the public officers were payable in them." These bills were also made a sort of legal tender in the payment of debts, for when Mr. A. secured a judgment against Mr. B., unless Mr. A. endorsed across the judgment "The bills of the State Bank of Illinois, or either of its branches, will be received in discharge of this execution," the defendant, Mr. B., could secure a three-years' stay of payment. This virtually forced the creditor to accept the bills as legal tender for their full face value.

When this bill came up for consideration there was bitter opposition to it. In the Lower House, the speaker, John McLean of Shawneetown, was strenuously opposed to the bill. The rules of the Lower House provided that the speaker could not speak upon any measure before the House except when the House was in committee of the whole. The House was favorable to the bill and did not want to hear Mr. McLean's logic against the

bill, so they refused to go into committee of the whole, whereupon Mr. McLean resigned as speaker and took his seat on the floor of the House and did his utmost to prevent the passage of the bill. Joseph Kitchell then a member of the Upper House introduced a resolution "denouncing the establishment of a bank without specie capital with which to redeem its paper on demand."

The objection to the measure from the standpoint of the constitution of the United States may be briefly stated. Article one of the constitution of the United States, section ten, clause one, in enumerating the powers denied to the states, says: "No state shall emit bills of credit, or make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." During the Revolutionary struggle the Continental Congress had issued large quantities of bills of credit. The several states also had issued paper money, which were bills of credit, in large amounts. Much confusion had resulted in these state bills of credit as they passed at different rates of discount in different states, and at different times. The framers of our constitution saw that there could never be any degree of uniformity in the medium of exchange if each state were allowed to control the issue of bills of credit. And hence the denial in the constitution to the states of the power to set up any standard of value for either paper money or for coins other than that fixed by the Congress of the United States.

But these arguments by men who foresaw the inextricable confusion that would come from the adoption of this banking system, fell on deaf ears, and on unwise judgments. Ford in the history of Illinois says: "So infatuated were this Legislature with the absurd bank project, that the members firmly believed that the notes of this bank would remain at par with gold and silver." As an indication of their faith in the stability of this banking system a resolution was passed requesting the secretary of the United States Treasury to accept the notes of the State Bank of Illinois in payment for the public lands sold in this state. When this resolution came before the Senate, there was a feeling that it was just a little presuming to ask the secretary to accept bills which the wise one saw would fall to 50 per cent within a short time after their issue. An amusing story is told of the presiding officer in the Senate, Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Menard, when the resolution was before that body. After a full and free discussion of the merits of the resolution the time arrived for the vote. When the presiding officer put the question he said: "Gentlemen of de Senate, it is moved and seconded dat de notes of dis bank be made land office money. All in favor of dat motion, say aye; all against it say no. It is decided in de affirmative. And now, gentlemen, I bet you one hundred dollar he never be made land office money."

The law provided that only $300,000 of the half million capital should be issued in bank notes, without authority of the Legislature. The law further authorized the division of the $300,000 issue among the parent bank and the four branch banks as follows:

The Vandalia Bank the sum of	$ 35,699.11¼
The Edwardsville branch the sum of	83,516.86¾
The Brownsville branch the sum of	48,834.00
The Shawneetown branch the sum of	84,685.00
The Edwards Co. branch the sum of	47,265.02
Total	$300,000.00

The bill as passed by the two Houses of the Legislature went to the governor who placed it before the Council of Revision. It may be remembered that the Constitution of 1818 did not give the governor the veto power, but placed that duty in the hands of the Supreme Court (four members) and the governor. These five men, in terms of the constitution, were called the Council of Revision. Here the bill was carefully considered. When it came to the final vote the council stood three against the bill and two for the bill. The governor and Judges Phillips and Reynolds were opposed to the bill's becoming a law; while Judges Wilson and Browne were for the bill's becoming a law. The bill was therefore returned to the House in which it originated, vetoed. The constitution provided that when a bill was vetoed by the Council of Revision, if it should be passed by each House by a majority of the members elected it should become a law. It was easy therefore to pass the bill for the bank over the veto.

When the bank was open for business there was a rush for accommodations. Every person who wanted more than $100 and less than $1,000 and had a small piece of unincumbered land, borrowed to meet his supposed needs and mortgaged his land for the payment of the debt. If one wished less than $100 and could get a neighbor to go his security, he borrowed it at the bank. It is said that it was not long before the entire issue of $300,000 provided by law was out in circulation. Reynolds says that these bank bills never did circulate at par and that they sunk as low as 25 cents on the dollar.

The auditor reported to the Legislature in 1823 that the bank's bills were circulating at 50 cents on the dollar, and complained it was a hardship to pay state officials in money worth only 50 cents on the dollar. He suggested that the law which required the bank to retire one-tenth of its issue each year be enforced and thus the bank would be out of the woods at the end of ten years. The only relief that came at this time was an act to increase the salaries of the state officials 50 per cent. In other words pay them 75 cents while they should be paid $1.

As time went on the condition got worse, and in 1825 there

were additional laws passed requiring the cashiers to redeem and destroy at least 10 per cent of the issue each year—or if any bills were loaned the second time, they should be stamped showing that they drew no interest. The banks therefore had little to do except to act as collection agencies, gathering in the money which had been formerly loaned.

The state's annual income was gathered through the various forms of taxation—on lands belonging to non-residents; bank stock held by non-residents, and the income from the salines. Governor Edwards in his campaign for the governorship in the summer of 1826 stated that $25,000 would cover the annual expenses of the state government. He showed that the taxes on non-resident land holders should produce at least $40,000 per year, thus leaving $15,000 in the treasury annually. But by some form of kindness to these non-resident land owners, they were required to pay their taxes only biennially. And even then the state was lenient if they failed to pay. There was therefore little money in the state treasury and it became necessary to issue state warrants to meet the state's obligations which were held or exchanged as money. What money was in the treasury came in as good money, but since in general circulation it was worth only one-third of its value, the state passed a law that state officials should be paid three dollars in current funds or in warrants for each dollar the state owed them. In 1825 the state's annual expense if it had been paid in good money would have been $35,000. The state, to pay these expenses issued to the state's creditors $107,000 in auditor's warrants. Thus the state was piling up a big debt which the future must pay.

The banks had run their course by 1826. The full amount of $300,000 had been issued and handed out to the people for notes with personal and real estate security. Thousands of dollars were never repaid. Ford says: "More than half of those who had borrowed, considered what they had gotten from it as so much clear gain, and never intended to pay it from the first." In many instances where money was loaned on mortgages the amount loaned was not only often greatly in excess of $1,000, but when the mortgages were foreclosed the real estate would bring only a half or a third of the debt. It was found that in various ways the bank lacked $100,000 of having enough money in 1831 when the bank charter expired of meeting all its obligations. This amount of money the state borrowed from a Mr. Wiggins of Cincinnati, paid off all the debts of the bank and quit the banking business—at least for five or six years.

The state itself was in debt some $300,000, so Mr. Ford thinks, but by a system of financial sleight of hand, the state was kept out of bankruptcy.

The People in 1818

Illinois was indeed a pioneer state when it was admitted to the Union in 1818. The manner of life was simple to the point of crudeness. The physical things with which they worked were all of the pioneer type. Wagons were generally home made. What is made by the man who used it or at least by a neighbor who in no sense was a manufacturer. There were few wholly iron plows; there were those with iron points and bars, the rest being wood—the mold-board; then there were wooden plows except a point of iron which protected the union of the shear and the bar. Looms were home-made as were also the spinning wheels—whether for flax or wool.

There were no stoves in those days. But the Dutch oven and the crane were the essential equipment for preparing a meal. To the crane were swung the kettles in which the vegetables and meats were boiled. The Kentuckians baked a delicious pone on a clean board held in place before a hot fire. Often certain vegetables were cooked in the hot coals and ashes. These early people really served roasting-ears upon the table—we serve boiled ears upon our tables and call them roasting-ears. The young ears of Indian corn were turned before the fire till the milky grains were thoroughly cooked when they were served hot, brown, and well seasoned. The meals were provided from the products of the farm, the game from the chase or the traps or the fish from the streams, wild honey and wild fruits were not infrequently a portion of the bountiful supply. The maple trees furnished maple sugar as well as a delicately flavored syrup.

The clothing continued to be "home-made" wool, flax, hemp and the skins furnished the basis of the wearing apparel. The wool must be washed, picked, and carded. Judge Jesse B. Thomas erected a carding mill at Cahokia about the time the territory was admitted into the Union. But one carding mill could not make rolls for all the country, so the old hand system of making rolls prevailed even as late as the Civil war. Weaving was one of the fine arts. Clothing was woven wholly of wool or partly of wool and partly of cotton. Blankets were woven from the poorer qualities of wool. Beautiful woolen counterpanes were often woven in colors of beautiful design. Similar counterpanes were often woven of cotton. In the more costly counterpanes the dyes were often imported, while in the cheaper ones the housewife made up her own dyes. A few of these old counterpanes may be seen here and there in the old homes or where the housewife is preserving one of these as an heirloom because "my great great-grandmother wove it." Cotton was carried through pretty much the same process as wool. It was the material for the summer wear. Much cotton was raised in the south third of the state up to the time of the Civil war.

Few native Illinoisans ever saw flax raised and made into cloth. But from the coming of the Americans into Illinois up to the days of the Civil war the raising of flax was a common industry among the farmers. Many of us have seen the beautiful little flax wheels in the homes of our people. Hemp is a fiber plant flourishing in tropical countries. It grows to the height of six or eight feet. Its stem is as large as the smaller corn stalks, and runs the entire height of the plant. It has branches along the upper parts of the stem. The inner part must be rotted and broken into smaller bits leaving the fiber or bark, unharmed. This outer fiber is dressed by beating and rubbing until all the pith is separated from it. It is then soft and fluffy. It was spun into coarse threads and woven into cloth suitable for bagging, canvas cloth, or coarse clothing. But its principal use was probably for the manufacture of ropes. Rope-walks were no unusual sight about the villages or frequently about a farm. It was not an uncommon thing to see men with clothing made from the skins of animals, but there were many instances in which caps, gloves, and moccasins were made in the home from the skins of fur-bearing animals.

In the early year of statehood, the prevailing home was built of logs. But there were well built frame houses, and even substantial brick buildings were used as residences, stores, and churches. The use of the log house as a home has not altogether passed away. In many of the timbered counties you will probably still find the log house used as a residence. Dr. Edwin Erle Sparks in his charming volume "The Expansion of the American People," describes in one chapter the pioneer life of the Ohio Valley. In discussing the home life, he says a log home could be built for $150 and a double log home for $250.

"In letters from Illinois," by Morris Birkbeck, published in Philadelphia in 1818, we find a very clear description of the cost of building a log home. In Letter No. VIII we find this description of a log house which Mr. Birkbeck had erected as a temporary home till he could build his permanent residence. "Having fixed on the northwestern portion of our prairie for our future residence and farm, the first act was building a cabin about 200 yards from the spot where the house is to stand. This cabin is built of round straight logs, about a foot in diameter, lying upon each other, and notched at the corners, forming a room 18 by 16 feet long; the intervals between the logs 'chuncked,' that is, filled in with slips of wood; and 'mudded,' that is daubed with a plaster of mud; a spacious chimney built of logs, stands like a bastion at one end; the roof is well covered with four hundred 'clap boards' of cleft oak, very much like the pales used in England for fencing parks. A hole is cut through the side, called, very properly, the 'door' (the through) for which there is a shutter, made also of cleft oak,

and hung on wooden hinges. All this has been executed by contract, and well executed for $20. I have since added $10 to the cost, for the luxury of a floor and ceiling of sawn boards, and it is now a comfortable habitation."

Doctor Sparks was thinking of paying for labor at the union scale probably. Many of the log houses in which our pioneer forefathers reared large families were built with the outlay of but a few dollars. The only articles which must be bought were glass for windows and a few nails. Chimneys were built of wood, rocks, and clay. The floor was often the smoothed flat sides of split logs, called puncheons; the door was not infrequently made of well riven clap-boards; the roof was laid of clap-boards held in place, not nailed, by long poles secured with wooden pins. The fire place and the hearth were built of flat stones which were procured from nearby streams or bluffs. Doctor Sparks called attention to a necessary adjunct of every well regulated home—that was the "smoke house." This was a small low building near the kitchen door, if there were a kitchen, in which the supplies were usually kept. In the winter the farmer "butchered his hogs," and salted away the shoulders, hams and sides. In the spring these parts were taken out of the dry salt and hung up to cross-pieces, care being taken that the several pieces did not touch one another. A fire was then built in the center of the floor and the smoke arose like incense to preserve the meat. Many days the smoldering fire would be kept going, and the smoke would continually escape from the roof of the small building and hence "smoke house."

It could not be said that the people were all industrious, but they were a hard working class. The man who cleared the timber from his land, broke up the soil, and planted and tended his crops was a hard working man. He was also industrious. He was tired at the end of each day's work. The man who spent his day locating bee trees, or fishing all day, or hunting, or loafing about the village had worked hard, but he was not industrious. Many were not thrifty. There was no effort in the summer and fall to prepare suitable shelter for horses, cattle, hogs and chickens when the storms of winter should come. In those sections where the settlers had come from the northern states the above statement probably would have to be modified. The Yankees were not only industrious but thrifty. They built good stables or barns for their stock and made provision in the fall for the winter by gathering in fuel and forage. They were accustomed to sit by their winter fires and give some attention to good books and conversations.

The people were in the true sense of the word temperate in their habits. They were accustomed to drink certain kinds of intoxicating liquors, but there were few drunkards. Their conversations were coarse but not unchaste. Men were given to

swearing but the law forbade it and the penalties were severe. Gambling was not of the kind we have known about the saloons and joints of our cities. The common people who went to the horse races often bet on the outcome of the race. But the amounts wagered were small, and it was usually open and above board. Reynolds in "My Own Times," states that one form of amusement among the common people consisted in practical jokes on one another. Some times their jokes disturbed public gatherings.

Social intercourse was regulated by the make-up of the community. In some instances the people were of one religious faith or of one industrial activity and in such cases there was not as much helpfulness gotten from social contact as was the case where the neighborhood or community was some what heterogeneous. Morris Birkbeck, writing from the western part of Indiana, Princeton, on July 24, 1817, says: "Regretting, as I must, my perpetual separation from many with whom I was in habits of agreeable intercourse in Old England, I am much at ease on the score of society. We shall possess this one thing needful, which it was supposed the wilderness could not supply, in the families of our own establishment, and a circle of citizen neighbors, such as this little town affords already. The social compact here is not the confederacy of a few to reduce the many into subjection, but is indeed, and in truth, among these simple republicans, a combination of talents, moral and physical, by which the good of all is promoted in perfect accordance with individual interest. It is, in fact, a better, because a more simple state than was ever portrayed by the Utopian theorist."

In the small villages there was often social conditions quite in contrast with the life in the interior. Morris Birkbeck boarded a while in the Town of Princeton, Indiana, in August, 1817. This town, of course, would not differ from a town of the same size and age in Illinois. Princeton is twelve miles south of east from Mount Carmel. "Though but two years old, and containing about fifty houses, this little town affords respectable society; it is the county town, and can boast as many well informed genteel people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as any county town I am acquainted with. I think there are half as many individuals who are entitled to that distinction as there are houses, and not one decidedly vicious character, nor one that is not able to and willing to maintain himself."

On July 7, 1817, Mr. Birkbeck writing from the Wabash, had stated a rather unfavorable report of the people whom he found in the country districts of Eastern Illinois and Western Indiana, as understood in England. At that time he explained what the difference was between the first and second waves of pioneers.

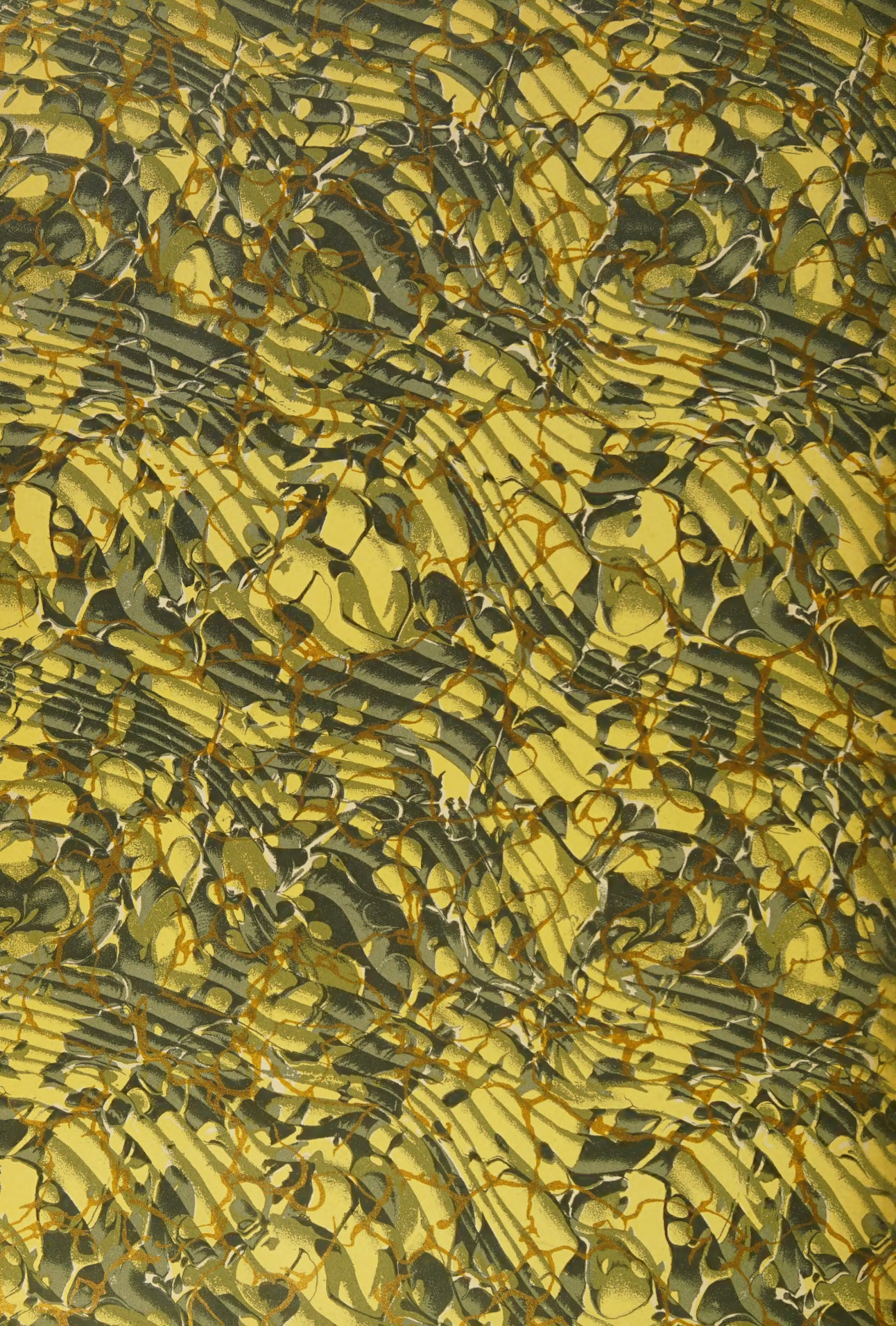
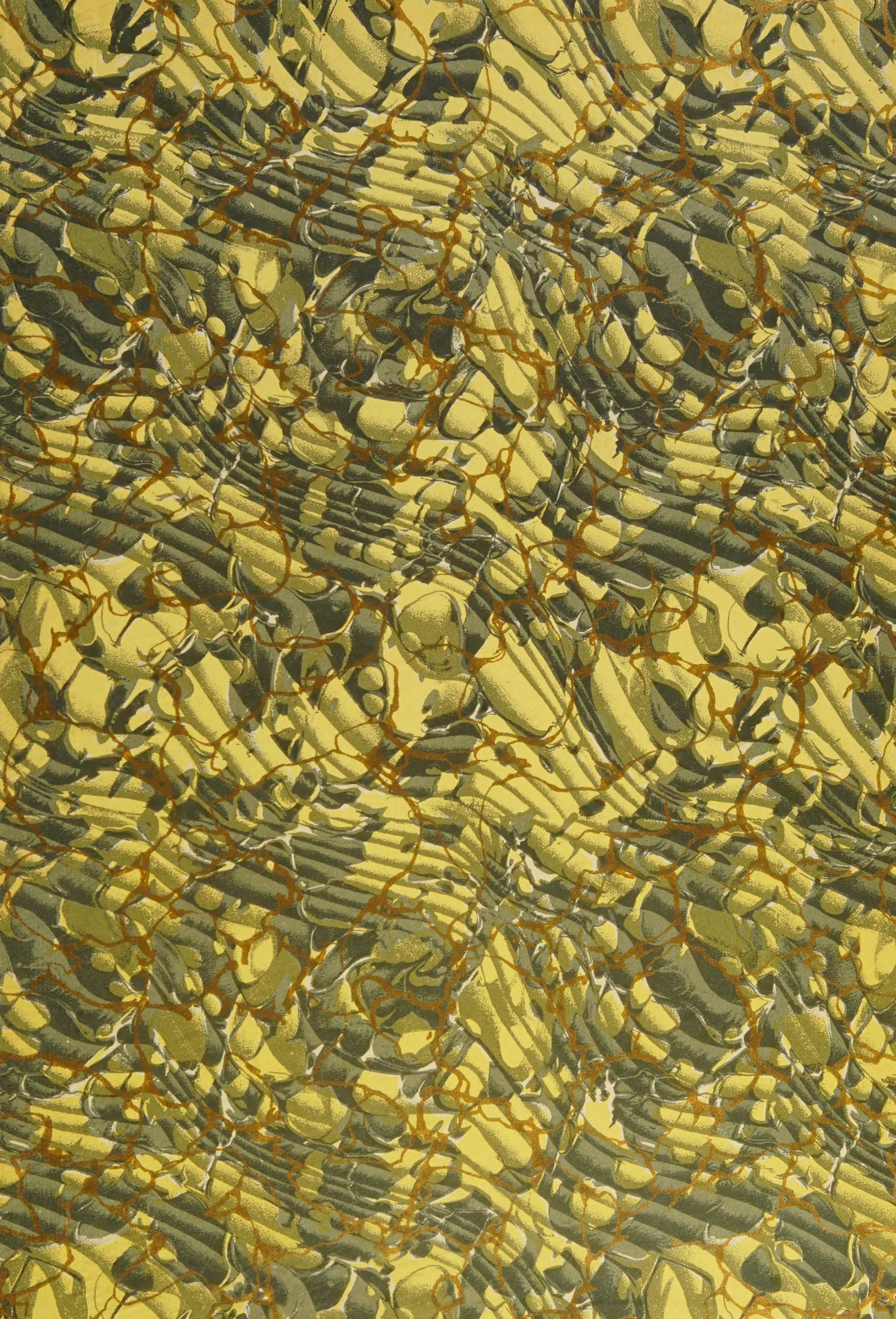
"An unsettled country, lying contiguous to one that is settled, is always a place of retreat for rude and even abandoned characters, who find the regulations of society intolerable; and such, no doubt, had taken up their unfixed abode in Indiana. These people retire with the wolves, from the regular colonists, keeping always to the outside of civilized settlements."

On August the 10th, Mr. Birkbeck appears to be back in Illinois and at the place selected for his future home (the English Prairie). After describing Shawneetown which he says will be his nearest shipping point (forty-five miles away), he says: "We are on the confines of society, among true backwoodsmen. We have been much among them—have lodged in their cabins, and partaken of their wretched and scanty fare; they have been our pilots to explore situations still more remote, and which only hunters visit. (Mr. Birkbeck wishes to apologize for some impressions which had obtained in England about these backwoodsmen and so he proceeds to say):

"From a nearer view of these people, something must be withdrawn from the picture which is given of their moral character in the note above referred to. (As found in his letter of July 7, 1817.) It is rather an ill-chosen or unfortunate attachment to the hunters' life, than an unprincipled aversion to the regulations of society, which keeps them aloof from the abodes of more civilized men."

He further points out that these frontiersmen must live where there is plenty of "bear and deer, and wild honey." They really love bear hunting and are willing to live in frontier wretchedness in order to have the opportunity to enjoy this economic sport. "Yet they are not savages in their disposition, but honest and kind, ready to forward our wishes, and even to labor for us, though our coming will compel them to remove to the outside again."

A historian writing before the Civil war and describing some of the aspects of the social world says: "During the years from 1820 to 1830, a great change took place in the appearance and modes of dress of the people. The coon-skin cap, the hunting shirt, and leather breeches, the moccasins and the belt around the waist, to which the butcher knife and tomahawk were appended, had entirely disappeared before the modern clothing apparel. The women had exchanged their cotton and woolen frocks, manufactured, and striped with blue dye, by themselves, for modern dresses of silk and calico; they had laid aside the cotton handkerchiefs, which formerly covered their heads, and adopted bonnets instead; they would not, as formerly, walk barefooted to church, but would often be seen riding on fine horses to the house of worship. They would go to church flattering themselves with a secret hope that they would make the

best figure in the whole assembly, and outshine their neighbors by the brilliancy of their dress.

To be able to gratify their ambition for fine dresses, they were obliged to become industrious and enterprising in business. The desire for fine dresses also superinduced a similar desire for polite society and knowledge, so that the old folks, who would have much preferred remaining undisturbed in their sluggish tranquility and repose, thoroughly taken by surprise, everywhere uttered loud complaints, that the prodigalities, luxuries, and innovations of the young, would speedily cause the ruin of the country."